

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR MARCH, 1922

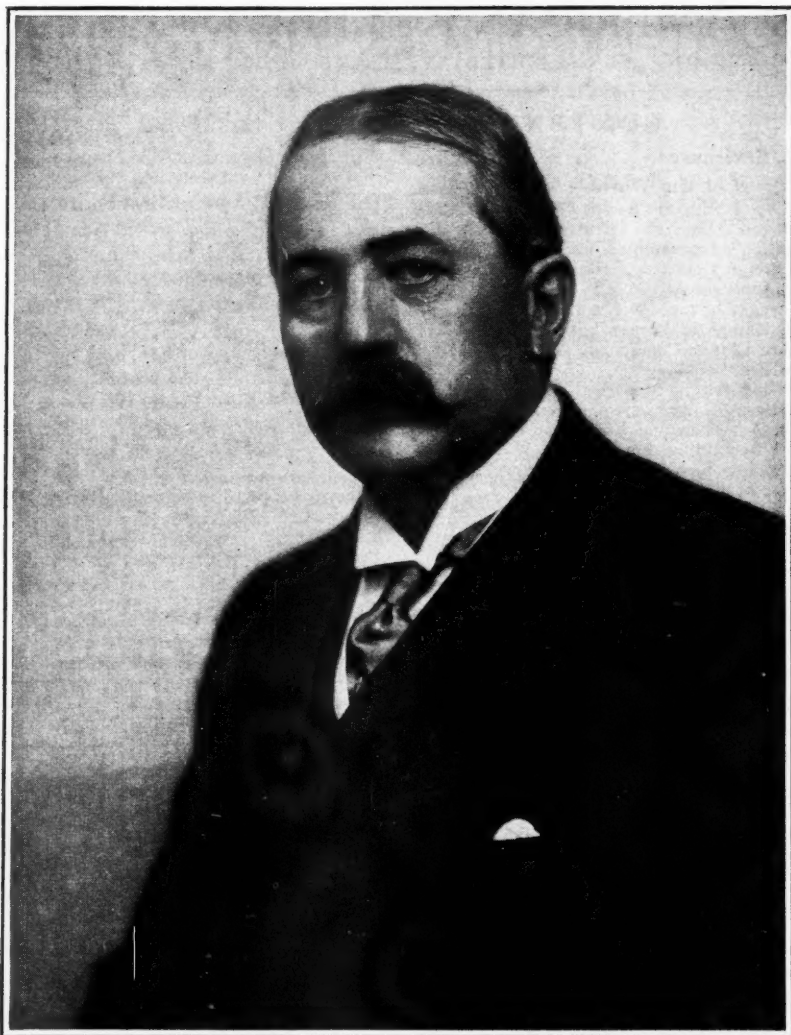
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HON. CORDENIO A. SEVERANCE, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

[Never before in the history of the legal profession has there been so great an interest as this year in the training and qualifications of practising lawyers. Immediately following Washington's Birthday, a two or three days' convention, to be held at Washington, was arranged by the leading lawyers from all sections, representing State and local bar associations. A call has gone out from leaders of the bar, urging a higher recognition of the duty of lawyers to the community, and insistence upon higher standards of education and character. The Section of Legal Education and the Conference of Bar Associations united in calling this meeting. These are working parts of the American Bar Association, of which Mr. C. A. Severance, of St. Paul, is president this year. Mr. Severance for many years has belonged to the famous law firm of which former Senator Cushman K. Davis was senior member until his death, and of which Senator Kellogg was a member until his recent retirement from practice. Mr. Severance has had a leading place in important federal cases having to do with railroads, corporations, and the Anti-Trust Law. The present movement for better legal training has owed much to the surveys and reports conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation. Nine years ago the Committee on Education of the American Bar Association asked Dr. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation, to have the education of lawyers studied as thoroughly as that of medical practitioners.]

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Hope Comes
with the
Spring Time*

The world has been fighting its way through a grim and painful winter. The struggle for food and clothing, for fuel and shelter, has been exceptionally severe. Many millions of workers have been out of employment in the more highly industrialized countries. The business of maintaining governments has been more costly than in former times, because, in all countries except Germany (to which might be added Austria and Hungary) the military establishments have continued to be far greater than they were before the outbreak of the war in 1914. But at least the world has seen less actual clash of arms than in any previous season for a good many years, and that is something to be thankful for. Unemployment and temporary scarcity are hard to bear; but they are not to be compared with the calamities and woes of military conflict on any considerable scale. The present period of economic stagnation has not been very long, and the hope of better times in the near future has sustained many a suffering family whose bread-winners have been deprived of opportunities to earn. Conditions in Europe are slowly improving, and perhaps the worst has been faced.

*Russia, and
American
Altruism*

As spring approaches, it is perceived that by far the greatest area of distress remains, as had been predicted, in the famine-stricken parts of Russia. Many hundreds of thousands of people already have died, while relief services have saved the lives of enough people to populate a small country. European authorities declare that the American Relief Administration in Russia has been efficient beyond any other, and that, considering the difficult conditions, it has been as nearly perfect as any human agency could be. It is agreeable to us to have such tributes, because Europe sometimes criticizes this country in

terms of bitterness and insult—at least many European newspapers indulge in this practice. Whatever may have been the causes leading to the general result, it is true that the American people are impelled to a surprising extent by the motive of altruism. To blame the United States for not having accepted membership at a given moment in a particular organization called the League of Nations is to be guilty of a kind of bad taste that wise and thoughtful Europeans do not exhibit. They appreciate American generosity.

*The Nation's
Unexampled
Record*

America was only one of many neutral governments during the early part of the World War. Nothing at all happened which required the United States to assume belligerency in aid of the Allies which did not also call with equal insistence upon the governments of Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Argentina, and Chile. Brazil and China shaped their policies to accord with ours. We ought by all means to have expanded our armaments enormously in 1914 and the following years; and we would have done well if we had asserted our principles and shown our power considerably earlier than we did. But from the standpoint of Europe, our later expenditures of money, of effort, of mobilized man-power, were high-spirited and unselfish beyond the sum total of all comparable examples of official altruism in the records of mankind. We ought to have formed a proper organization of neutrals at the very beginning of the war; and such an organization should have challenged and prevented illegal submarine warfare, criminal air-raids, Armenian massacres, Belgian atrocities, and many other violations of the accepted rules of international law. Using its influence firmly against the violation of Belgian neutrality, such a grouping of the non-belligerent powers

might have ended the war almost at its beginning.

*Why Foreign
Criticism
Irritates*

But, even if the United States failed to act with energy and with wise forethought until after the elections of November, 1916, our people made herculean efforts and sacrifices in 1917 and 1918, which atoned for every previous mistake—although it is inevitable that the student of history should in due time survey and appraise all that was done and that was left undone. We simply took it upon ourselves as a neutral power—better able to take care of our own interests, regardless of either or both European belligerent groups, than any other neutral—to intervene with all our resources and to bring the war to an end with justice triumphant. Whatever of security in the world for small nations or for large ones is now to be obtained through peace efforts following the Great War, it is true that the United States more than any other country will have merited credit as having intervened for principle's sake, at great cost and without anything to be gained of a selfish nature. Under these circumstances, the insolence of certain European newspapers, and the cold and calculating ingratitude of certain foreign financiers and publicists, is rather irritating to American sensibilities.

*Certain
Innocent
Mistakes*

If America is further to be impelled by altruism, there must be an ample admixture both of humor and of common sense. The efforts inspired by habitual impulses of generosity must be controlled by knowledge and sound judgment. We are suffering a good deal, not because our efforts to end the war were on too great a scale—for indeed it would have been worth while to have embarked on large efforts a year or two sooner—but because in our relations to other countries we were not always sufficiently businesslike and clean-cut. For example, all the preliminary "secret treaties" in which the Allies were involved would have been abrogated willingly and without dispute in 1917, or at latest in the spring of 1918, if we had but asked for this as a reasonable condition of our immense war efforts. But after the war was ended, and peace negotiations were on foot at Paris, this network of secret treaties enmeshed the whole situation. Particular governments were entrapped, and it was too late to do what would have been so simple

and easy only half a year earlier. Again, if our Treasury loans to foreign governments had been issued in a form to show what they really were, we would have escaped practically all of the present embarrassing discussion about them.

*The Foreign
Loans, for
Example*

There was never any trouble about understanding the "United-Kingdom loan" or the "Anglo-French loan," or certain other foreign issues that were floated in the United States. So far as the realities were concerned, the Allied borrowings through our Treasury were of precisely the same nature as the loans we have mentioned. The money loaned for war purposes was that of American investors, whether borrowed through New York bankers or through the Washington authorities. If the foreign loans, which Congress has this last month been making plans for refunding, had been issued directly to the investors not in the form of American Liberty Bonds, but as British or French or Italian bonds, accompanied simply by the statement that the United States would hold itself responsible (as endorser) for ultimate payment of interest and principal, the bonds would have been marketed with perfect ease, and no confusion about their character could ever have arisen. At present, the foreigner—not thinking all the way through the transaction—seems to imagine that the Government at Washington could cancel these loans, thus relieving Europe, without any subsequent burden to anybody. But although the bonds were not printed and issued in the name of the borrower, but rather in the name of the endorser of the paper, they remain outstanding in the hands of the lenders; and, since he is solvent and responsible, Uncle Sam will have to pay the money if the real borrowers should succeed in avoiding the obligation.

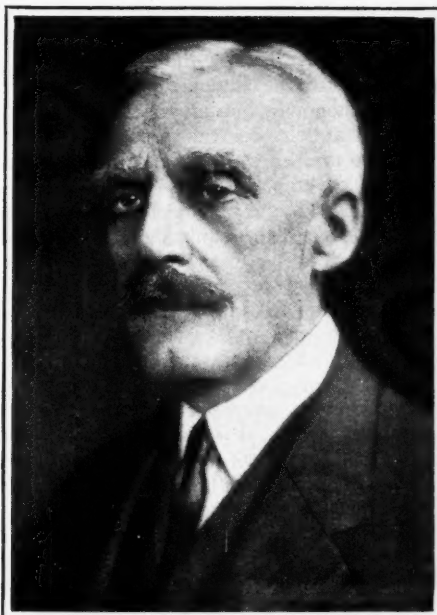
*Putting Things
in Proper
Form*

It is now quite an awkward thing to correct the mistake; yet there seems no practical way to deal with these obligations except to issue them, belatedly, as they ought to have been issued in the first instance, so that they may show for themselves exactly what they are. If (as is probable) the American taxpayers are at some future time to assist the taxpayers of Europe in paying the debt due to American investors, no steps to that end can be taken until the obligations themselves are suitably recognized and are so presented that

their nature is clear to everybody. That any great and solvent nation should give preference to its domestic debt, and should desire to be released from its obligations to foreign lenders would be a wholly new thing in the history of finance. Domestic war debts should be liquidated by one means or another as quickly as possible. Being "all in the family," they are mostly a matter of book-keeping. But foreign obligations are another matter, not to be lightly shaken off. The notion in Europe that Americans, after the unexampled generosity of their war efforts, could become exacting in the matter of the repayment of loans might well be resented here. The American people are not Shylocks, and will not be merciless or exacting. But things should be called by their right names, and definite obligations ought not to be waived in a casual manner. If this situation were not dealt with in a proper and business-like fashion, there would never again be such a thing in the world as international credit.

*Who Are
Chiefly
Concerned*

The discussion of this question of the foreign debts has to a great extent been marked by ignorance or forgetfulness of facts. The average citizen should understand that there are three principal parties involved in these great financial transactions. These three are the borrowers, the lenders, and the endorers. The United States Government acted for the lenders, and represented the endorers. The borrowers are European Governments which gave their unqualified pledges to repay. The lenders are those who bought the bonds that were sold through the United States Treasury to raise the money. The endorers are the American tax-payers. While the investing lenders are principally American citizens, the bonds are to some extent held elsewhere throughout the world. The third principal party, and the one by far most vitally concerned, is the American public in its taxpaying capacity. Already the American public has paid something like two billion dollars to the owners of these bonds, as against the accruing interest. Because of the solvency of the American people and their high financial honor as represented by their Government, the loans that have been made through the United States Treasury are by far the best investment in the world. After the reestablishment of our finances subsequent to the Civil War, the United States bonds were largely held by European and



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HON. ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(With the signing of numerous treaties, and the adjournment last month of the Armament Conference, Secretary Hughes was entitled to some relaxation after the intense labors of more than three months. Issues of a financial character have now brought the Secretary of the Treasury into special prominence. Among these are the funding of the foreign war debts, the study of revenue sources to meet possible bonus payments, and the impending reissue of many billions of our own short-time bonds)

foreign investors who profited greatly. In due time Uncle Sam's present Liberty bonds will also be held abroad in considerable amounts, debtor and creditor thus changing places.

*Inter-Allied
Bookkeeping*

Debts that European powers owe to one another are mainly a matter of their own inter-allied arrangements for prosecuting a common war. England, France, and Russia were equally menaced, and were compelled to use supreme effort. It was to Britain's advantage that she could defend herself on French soil, and thus avoid the devastation of her own coasts. It might be said that what Britain advanced to France by way of supplies, now standing on the ledger account as debts from Paris to London, was more than offset by those superior sacrifices on the part of France which alone saved England from invasion. These are matters between England and France; and they bear no relation, except of a remote sort, to loans that were floated in America.

A
Suggested
Parallel

A bank loans a sum of money to a trader and holds his personal note. Later the trader comes to the bank with the statement that he has a partner who owes him a like sum, and he proposes that debts be "cancelled all around." That is to say, he would absolve his partner if the bank would tear up the note and forget it. There might be reasons, indeed, why the president of the bank should feel very friendly. And he might suggest that the bank had already expended a great deal of its own money to support the general conditions of business that were vital to this firm. But, as regards the particular proposals, the bank president might explain very politely that he owed certain duties to the stockholders of his bank, who would have to "make good" with the Federal Reserve Bank that had rediscounted the note. The money had actually been loaned, and if the note were cancelled the burden would merely be passed on to those who would suffer through the bank's inability to collect what was due. The president of the bank might, however, say that there would be no attempt to force collection, and that every kind of consideration, direct and indirect, would be shown, so that in the long run everybody would be satisfied.

"Cancelling
All
Around"

The suggestions that have emanated from certain financiers abroad about "cancelling debts all around," while appearing quite the fair thing to those who have not examined them carefully, have undoubtedly made the situation more difficult because of their palpable fallacies. The people of the United States will not press these claims ungenerously. The best proof of this assertion lies in the fact that the American people are regularly paying all of the interest out of their own pockets. There are many able statesmen and publicists in Europe who are thoughtful and intelligent enough not to join in slandering the American people at the very moment when America is bearing the entire burden of this indebtedness without complaint. At Washington, ever since the war, there has been a constant, though not very energetic effort to put these obligations into some proper form for ultimate disposition. This is all that the Refunding bill, presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, and — with serious changes — adopted by Congress last month, and signed by the President, can be expected to bring about.

"Refunding"
by Act of
Congress

There is to be a commission of five members, three of them belonging to the Cabinet, and one each to the two houses of Congress. It has been intimated that Secretaries Mellon, Hughes, and Hoover, representing the Treasury, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce, would be the proper Cabinet members, though Secretary Weeks, who is a banker and a clear thinker, might well be named in place of Mr. Hughes, who has been working prodigiously. These, with a Senator and a Congressman, under the Refunding bill, are now authorized to deal separately with the countries involved. The original Mellon bill, as favored by the President and the Cabinet, asked that unrestricted discretion be given to the Secretary of the Treasury. Congress preferred a commission of five. The bill was not to have the effect of putting pressure upon any foreign debtor, but was merely to bring the obligations into proper form, as had been agreed at the time the money was loaned. President Harding signed the bill on February 9.

Wealth,
American and
European

The finances of Europe at present are greatly disordered. But the old, highly industrialized countries of Europe are much wealthier than the United States when judged by many tests and standards. Apart from these war-time loans of ours, it is our nation that has been the debtor to Europe for several decades past, by many billions of dollars. We to-day have scanty investments in foreign countries, except for some holdings in our immediate neighborhood, as in Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. European countries, on the other hand, still hold many billions of outside investments, including billions enough soundly invested in the United States alone to offset our recent loans to European governments. The principal countries of Western Europe are to-day in need of additional housing; but their necessities in this regard are not as great as those that exist in the United States. British correspondents like Mr. Wells, going out from Washington through adjacent parts of Maryland and Virginia, were shocked at the conditions they found. Many millions of our American people of the earlier British stock are still living in wretched log cabins, or in habitations not suited to present-day conditions. Modern rehousing has gone much farther in Europe than in America. Mrs. Warbasse's article in this REVIEW last month showed with what

energy, and with what high standards, the European people are even now, since the war, adding to the housing accommodations of their working people. The farm lands of Western Europe are far more productive than our own; their markets are near at hand; they are not subject to such vicissitudes as those which have recently overwhelmed our cotton belt, our wheat belt, and our areas devoted to corn, hogs, and cattle.

*Need of
Rebuilding
America*

Outside the zones of our overdeveloped cities, the greater part of the United States is in a crude and relatively undeveloped condition. The American people, especially the farmers, have been accustomed to excessively hard work and to meager rewards. They are cheerful and optimistic, and they will overcome their difficulties. As we remarked in the beginning, they are altruistic; and it is their instinct to help people who may be a little worse off than themselves in all parts of the world. Foreigners who come to New York or to Washington as a rule have no idea of the real conditions of life, State by State, county by county, throughout America. We shall always be able to take care of ourselves, and at the same time to do something for famine sufferers in Russia or China, or for orphans and refugees in regions like Armenia, not because of the nation's wealth, but because of the nation's character. Trade balances, and the maintenance here of sound money standards, have brought a preponderant stock of gold to American bank vaults and the federal treasury; but we should be much better off if that gold were elsewhere, and were supporting sound currencies abroad, with a normal movement of commerce. In the early future, the debt commission will enter upon its duties, and it will be time then to discuss the methods and the details of the refunding.

*Solid Achievements of the
Conference*

Further, let it be remembered that the business of dealing with these foreign debts is to be in the hands of the men who have carried the great international conference at Washington to a successful conclusion. What this conference has done is excellently stated by way of a final summing up in Mr. Simonds' article, printed elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Simonds always chooses to leave to others the glowing rhetoric of the enthusiast. He

is not cynical, but he likes to keep his feet on solid ground; and praise from him is to be fairly earned before it is accorded. It is to be well noted, therefore, that he has only praise for the results of the conference, for President Harding's timely action in calling it, and for the consistency, energy and skill of Secretary Hughes in bringing his program to the stage of successful accomplishment after twelve weeks of unflagging effort and devotion. Mr. Simonds shows—that we have remarked from time to time—that history cannot be made all at once by a mere effort of right-minded men sitting in a conference. There were certain things to be done because conditions had made them possible. There were certain other things that could not be done because conditions were not ripe.

*Some
Tangible
Results*

Mr. Simonds shows most lucidly what has been done and what remains. We have renounced a prospective naval supremacy that, fortunately, we did not want. We have proved to England that she may safely renounce her existing naval supremacy because her varied interests and responsibilities are not to be menaced. We have told Japan that we had certain things yet to do in the Philippines, but are not building up an empire of power in the Far East. We have asked Japan to deal considerably with China as a friend and neighbor. But we have become more than ever convinced that China must emerge from her own political chaos before she can exercise all the attributes of sovereignty—of none of which we desire to see her deprived. Japan promises definitely to withdraw from Siberia when she can safely do this, in view of the collapse of trustworthy authority in Russia. In the drafting and signing of various international treaties, we have brought back international law; and never again—we hope and believe—will the world tolerate the crimes that were perpetrated on land, under water, and in the air, less than four years ago.

*Conquest
of Public
Opinion*

While the new international court last month was assuming its robes of dignity at The Hague, we were strengthening its hands at Washington by restating sound principles of the law of nations and placing such an array of power and of public opinion behind those principles as had never existed before. Wise and generous men and women in all

lands last month accorded high praise to President Harding, to Secretary Hughes, to Elihu Root, and to Senators Underwood and Lodge. Never for a single day did these men do their work without carrying along with them (1) the intelligent conviction of many competent advisers at Washington, (2) the countenance and help of the American press, (3) the earnest support of the Pulpit and the Bar, (4) the accord of commerce and finance, (5) the good-will of those who are influential with organized labor, and (6) the hearty approval of the men and women who are close to the soil. For a time there was some anxiety lest the partisan mood should assert itself in the Senate, and the treaties should be debated and delayed in an acrimonious spirit. Fortunately, the Democratic leaders for the most part accepted the wiser view that partisanship had no proper place in these matters. It became clear that to vote for the treaties would be less likely to hurt Democrats in the fall elections than to obstruct the treaties. The President had never been quite so persuasive as in his address to the Senate when offering the treaties for ratification; and organized opposition seemed unlikely.

*Friendly
Negotiators*

Now, as regards the foreign debts, it is almost too evident for assertion that the men who have shown themselves so large-minded throughout the Washington Conference will not be otherwise than reasonable and generous in the more or less technical business of carrying out the processes that are authorized by the Refunding bill. A banker of vast experience like Mr. Mellon, an international statesman and man of affairs of the first rank like Mr. Hoover, a foreign minister universally esteemed like Mr. Hughes, a President of poise, kindliness, and sagacity like Mr. Harding, will not be found browbeating the European financiers over the handling of these debts. There are many preliminary conditions that ought to be met by the countries of Europe for their own best welfare. They should reduce the cost of land armament as rapidly as possible. They should trade freely with one another. They should shake themselves free of the horrid nightmare of irredeemable and almost worthless paper currency. They should dispose of their unpayable domestic war debts. They should pay taxes enough to balance their budgets.

*Economic
Reform on
Broad Lines*

Then will come a time when it might be in order to consider the best way in which to support the foreign debts upon a broad international base. When European countries have met their own internal problems with fortitude, and have solved them, undoubtedly the people of the United States would be ready to do even more than their share in disposing of the net residual burden of international obligation. Mr. Vanderlip's new book, which has now been published in several languages, and to which we made advance reference in these editorial pages last month, while strongly asserting the validity of the indebtedness to the United States, also advocates the adoption of some ultimate plan by means of which the repayment might result in general advantage. America has no thought of worrying France or Italy, or of pressing Great Britain at this time. There should be orderliness in public finance; but generosity will be the best investment.

*A Cash
Bonus for
Soldiers*

There was a somewhat formidable attempt at Washington early in February to attach a soldier bonus bill to the measure for refunding Europe's debts. The bonus movement had been checked last year by President Harding's outspoken opposition and by Secretary Mellon's constant disapproval on fiscal grounds. The advocates of a sweeping and comprehensive bonus bill at this time had all along been very vague as regards the means by which to raise the money. It was asserted



THE PROCESSION STARTS TO THE SENATE
From the World (New York)



THE PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS A SCENE IN THE FINAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS AT WASHINGTON WHEN DELEGATES AFFIXED THEIR SIGNATURES TO VARIOUS TREATIES

that the farmers and the industrial workers would not tolerate a sales tax. Mr. Mellon insisted that large incomes and commercial corporations could not pay increased taxes, and that nominally higher rates would diminish the total yield rather than increase it. The leaders of the bonus movement then caught at the idea that the European debt could be associated with the payment of bonus to soldiers, and that a certain kind of moral pressure could be put upon foreign governments to meet interest payments which in turn might be diverted to the project of wholesale distribution among the ex-service men. Against this proposal President Harding was obdurate. He did not state in set terms that he would veto a measure of that kind, but such a course was fairly to be inferred.

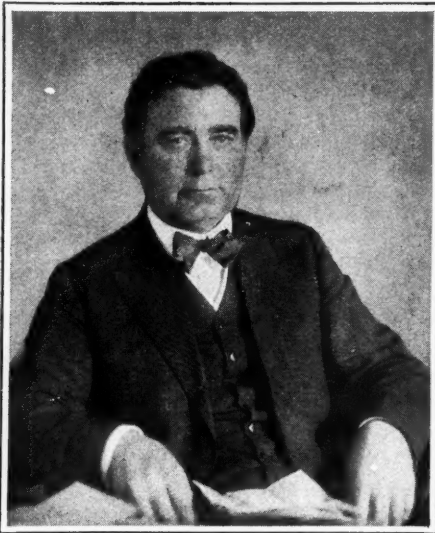
*Taxes
for the
Bonus*

Mr. Mellon, as director of the Government's financial mechanism, never lost sight of the fact that the foreign loans were merely a part of the total of our own outstanding indebtedness, and that refunding the foreign debts was hardly separable from the technical processes of refunding domestic obligations. It might indeed be a very good thing if the entire bulk of our war indebtedness were, for purposes of administration, separated altogether from the ordinary handling of the budget. The commission that is to deal with the foreign loans might very well be charged with refunding from time to time the domestic debt, meeting its interest charges, and planning its reduction. While a sales tax would be unpopular for the ordinary purposes of revenue, it might be pos-

sible to levy a universal sales tax, the proceeds of which should be used exclusively for paying interest on the public debt and gradually amortizing the principal. This would leave the existing sources of revenue available for a strictly balanced budget relating to the current expenses of government. Nothing of this kind is likely to be done; but it is desirable for purposes of clear thinking to keep these two broad fields of financing separate from each other.

*Politics
and the
Service Men*

The bonus bill has proved itself to be an embarrassment at Washington. If no elections were to be held until 1924, it may be said with entire assurance that the present session of Congress would not have tried to pass the bonus bill that was imminent last month. This bill was expected to pass both Houses without fail at an early day; yet there was no one capable of making a close estimate of what it would cost. The pending bill offers several options. The ex-soldier or sailor may have cash, or paid-up insurance, or vocational education, or help of one kind or another in buying a home or in establishing himself upon the public lands. There were widely varying estimates as to the percentage of the men who would draw cash instead of insurance or some other kind of benefit. Regardless of precise statistics, it may be guessed that about five million individuals would become beneficiaries under this act. It might also be wildly guessed that the act would call for an early expenditure of not less than five billion dollars. In the end it



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HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH, UNITED STATES SENATOR
FROM IDAHO

(Mr. Borah's oratorical energy, independence of view, and bold initiative have made him more conspicuous than any other member of either House of Congress during the past winter. It was Mr. Borah's resolution requesting the President to call a naval disarmament conference that passed the Senate unanimously last May, and was accepted by the House with practical unanimity late in June. He was prominent in the debate over the seating of Senator Newberry, and last month he took the lead in opposing the pending bonus measure)

would probably cost considerably more than this round figure. Sorting over the five million individuals, it might be possible to find one in ten, let us say 500,000 in all, who for definite rather than for general reasons would be entitled to immediate help.

*Danger of
Hasty
Legislation*

There were certain large constructive notions for helping the returned soldiers entertained by such men as Secretary Lane that seemed to us admirable in the highest sense. As for the disabled, we are already spending something like one million dollars a day, or nearly four hundred million dollars a year, to meet their just claim upon the nation. We cannot do too much for those who suffered in the war; but help should be bestowed wisely. A large proportion of those who served in uniform do not favor the proposed cash bonus. They are aware that the service men, like other people, have more to expect from the rewards of improved general business than from cash doles out of the Treasury that might retard the process of business recovery. Unfortunately, the bonus question is now

"in politics," and this makes for haste rather than care. In a few weeks primary elections will begin. Those who are opposed to the bonus are not organized to fight it; while those who demand it are prepared to challenge the reelection of any Congressman who is not surely with them. Everyone said in Washington last month that it would be political suicide for Congressman or Senator to oppose the bonus at this time if he was seeking reelection next November.

*What is
the Right
Policy?*

There is nothing hidden or obscure about this situation. It is not technical or difficult like the tariff question. The service men, like millions of other people, have had to endure the pinch of hard times during the past year. They are entitled to good-will and friendly help from all quarters. Those who have not felt it wise at this time to enter upon a scheme of cash bonus, for all who wore a military uniform in the last war, ought not for that reason be regarded as less friendly than others. Mr. Hoover prefers a plan of comprehensive insurance, as against the cash doles. Men in Congress who are opposed to certain features of the present bonus bill may indeed be quite as friendly to the service men, while also showing a higher sense of public duty, than others who think it will be easier for them to go home with the record of having voted for a bill that they may not regard as entirely wise. It is not at this moment a question of doing something or doing nothing for the men who fought in the war, but rather a question of taking ample time to decide upon what is best.

If there is to be a so-called "adjusted compensation," the term could only mean that the soldiers were paid far too little, while their brothers and cousins who stayed at home to make munitions or build ships were paid relatively on too liberal a scale. Everyone knows that there ought to have been a work army as well as a fighting army; with everybody treated on like principles. Unluckily, extravagant wages were consumed to a great extent in extravagant outlays, and those who were overpaid have very little left with which to make things square with the uniformed men who were underpaid. As for the so-called employing "profiteers," they have already been quite well mulcted by the excess business taxes, and by the higher brackets of the personal income tax. All things con-

sidered, if a large sum is to be raised and distributed as a soldiers' bonus, a sales tax would probably furnish the most appropriate means of raising the money. Fur coats, fancy shoes, silk stockings and underwear, cosmetics, expensive shirts and neckties, cigarettes, chewing gum, soft drinks, tea and coffee, patent medicines, theater tickets—such are some of the articles of wide current consumption that might be heavily taxed for the benefit of the service men. Gasoline and automobiles are suggested. Articles that belong more strictly to the common necessities should not be included.

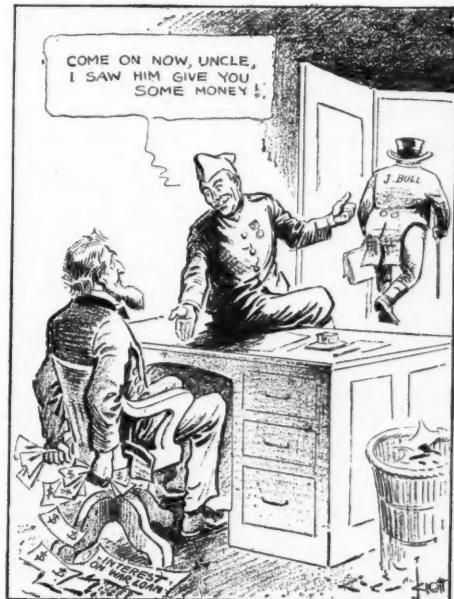
Tariff Perplexities

It is not to the discredit of the present Congress that it finds the tariff question so hard to solve. It is no longer a sectional issue. It is best for the cotton regions that they should diversify their agriculture and amplify their manufactures; and it is decidedly best for the wheat, corn, and cattle "belts" that they should not be so dependent upon distant consuming markets, but should steadily build up a variety of home industries. Too low a tariff would hurt the South and West quite as much, in the long run, as it would hurt the East in the short run. On the other hand, we enlarged the volume of foreign trade so greatly in the war period that it would now do us more harm than good to build the kind of tariff wall that Republicans plausibly advocated in Mr. McKinley's time. How to make a tariff that shall reasonably protect home industry, while not destroying foreign trade and wrecking the whole of our new merchant marine, is far too puzzling a question to be handled by mere partisan orators. Senator Underwood's help should be welcomed by the Republicans. This is the time for encouraging in every way the scientific studies of the Tariff Commission. In spite of serious difficulties and objections, the trend seems to be toward the valuation for customs purposes at the American port of entry, rather than the present method of levying *ad valorem* duties upon the foreign cost. Specific duties have many advantages over *ad valorem*. President Harding has come to favor some plan for what is called a "flexible tariff." He presented this idea to Congress in his message on December 6. Since then the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has tested out the sentiment of business men throughout the country, and strongly favors the creation of a "Tariff

Adjustment Board" authorized to vary the rates within prescribed limits in accordance with changing conditions. Delay in final action upon the Fordney Tariff Bill has been statesmanlike, in view of many complexities and changing conditions. The business leaders of the country are disposed to lift the question out of the ruts of party controversy, and to settle it along lines of commercial policy.

One Year of Mr. Harding

On the fourth of March, President Harding's Administration will have completed its first year. It came into authority by virtue of an overwhelming vote of the American people in November, 1920. There are those who declare that they are disappointed because of what the new Administration has done or has failed to do. There are others who predict that the Democrats will win a sweeping victory in the State and Congressional elections eight months hence. Those who understand best the currents of our political life might suggest in reply that if Mr. Cox and a Democratic administration had come into power with a sweeping Congressional majority, the same sort of mid-term reaction might be anticipated. It would be no real advantage to the Republicans to carry everything this Fall. A strengthened opposition would help rather than hurt the Administration.



THE SERVICE MAN'S "RICH UNCLE"
From the News (Dallas, Texas)



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DR. HUBERT WORK, OF COLORADO

(Who was selected last month to succeed Hon. Will H. Hays as Postmaster General)

*A
Consistent
Record*

Dismissing party prejudice, and taking the calm view of things, it is fair to say that President Harding has grown in his hold upon public opinion. His presentation of the new treaties to the Senate on February 10 was a surpassingly strong and convincing argument for the prompt acceptance of the results of the Armament Conference. He has worked harmoniously with his Cabinet, and has known exactly how to maintain proper relations with Congress. The first change in his Cabinet comes with the retirement of Mr. Will Hays from the Postal Service. As we remarked last month, the retiring Postmaster General has been able in one brief year to make a praiseworthy record. His successor will be Dr. Hubert Work, of Colorado, who is to be promoted from the position of First Assistant Postmaster General. Dr. Work was for a number of years the Colorado member of the National Republican Committee. But as a successful physician—recently president of the American Medical Association—he is even more widely known than as an official or political leader. Newspaper rumors have from time to time busied them-

selves with several other possible changes in the Cabinet, but no substantial ground for such reports has been indicated. The best interests are served, as a rule, by according full power to one party or to the other during a full Presidential term. Deadlocks between President and Congress are not good for either party, and they injure the country.

*Farmers
and
Public Policy*

The Farmers' Conference at Washington brought together a group of men and women whose average of intelligence and good sense would be hard to surpass. The Conference as called by President Harding had been well planned by Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture, with a group of his competent associates like the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Pugsley, and Dr. Taylor, who is an eminent economist and head of the Bureau of Farm Management. Permanent policies for farm prosperity were clearly differentiated from those that bore upon existing emergencies. So much of the vigor of the country has been drawn into the activities of city life that the necessity of public policies intended to maintain rural pursuits has not been as well understood as it should have been. The Conference helped to educate Washington, and it taught the metropolitan press some needed lessons. One immediate result of it was the passage in the Senate of the bill authorizing coöperative farm marketing with only one opposing vote on February 8. Professor Ely of the University of Wisconsin, long recognized as our leading authority on the subject of land economics, was one of the principal speakers at the Conference; and he has prepared for our readers a valuable summary of its program and its conclusions, which will be found elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW.

*Agriculture
Now Gets
Its Hearing*

One result of the Conference was to win for the so-called "farm bloc" in both houses of Congress a more cordial hearing and a better understanding. Some of the measures urged on behalf of agricultural interests—for example, some parts of the emergency farm tariff of last year—might be lacking in remedial virtue. But projects for placing farming upon a better basis as respects long-time and short-time borrowings of capital are desirable for the whole country. Farmers have not been wholly wrong in the opinion that too much liquid capital, relatively speaking, has been available for trading in

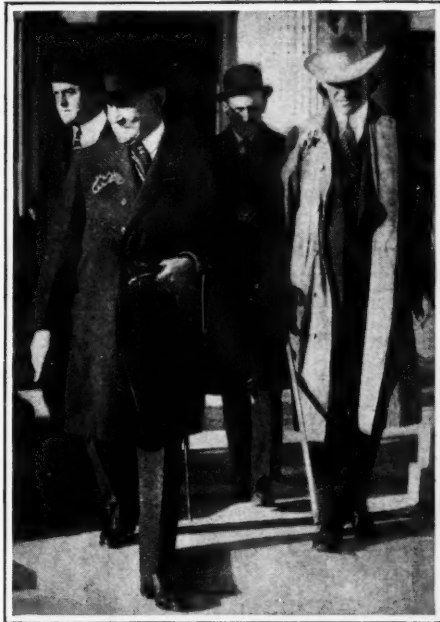
bonds, stocks, and commodities at the large centers (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, the Twin Cities, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans) and too little for the support of agricultural production. Experience has shown that wherever coöperative methods, as in the fruit industry of California, the dairy husbandry of the Northwest, and to some extent the grain growing of Kansas, have been thoroughly tried, the results are beneficial to consumers as well as to producers.

*Railroads
and
Farmers*

In their attitude toward railroad freight rates, the farmers' leaders are too much impelled by temporary conditions and too little regardful of permanent issues. The country as a whole, farmers included, has most to gain from having the railroads prosperous and efficient, so that plenty of capital may go into the railroad business. Furthermore, extremely low long-haul freight rates are of doubtful advantage. Such rates unduly intensify manufacturing in the East, and force the Southern and Western farmers to produce a few staple crops and go too far afield for markets. A better distribution of industries would make Southern and Western farmers more prosperous because of large home markets, and would at the same time lift the agriculture of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia out of the long-standing depression that has been caused by the overwhelming competition of surplus meats and breadstuffs from the West. To many people, this doctrine of higher rather than lower freight rates will be hard to accept; but there is something to be said in its favor.

*Kenyon
to Become
a Judge*

Certain New York papers were unduly sarcastic about the appointment of Senator William S. Kenyon of Iowa to the position of United States Judge of the Eighth Circuit Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Wallace I. Smith. The intimation that Senator Kenyon was deserting the pending agricultural bills, or that President Harding desired to send him away from Washington, was absurd. Senator Kenyon had formerly served in the Department of Justice, and his training and his own preferences have made his elevation to the bench most fitting. He was unanimously confirmed by his Senatorial colleagues in open session. He had recently

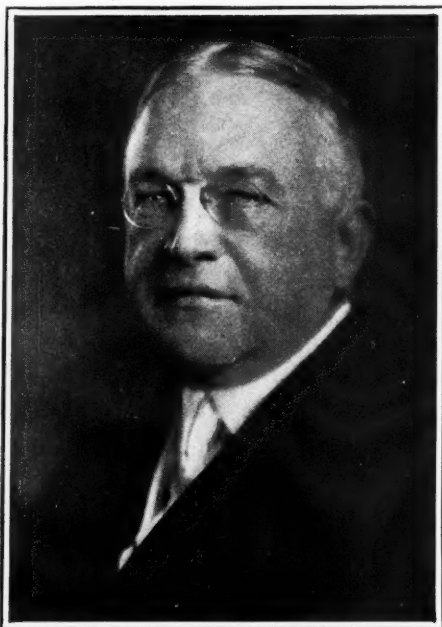


ON THE FOURTH OF MARCH PRESIDENT HARDING WILL HAVE COMPLETED HIS FIRST YEAR IN THE WHITE HOUSE. HIS PERSONAL HOLD UPON PUBLIC CONFIDENCE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASED

made a masterly speech against the undue use of money in politics, during the course of the debate upon the seating of Senator Newberry of Michigan.

*Again, the
Newberry
Case*

It is unfortunate that there has been so much controversy among Senators since the vote on Newberry's seat was taken. Upon the whole, the debate has been salutary. If Senator Newberry had resigned after the vote had been taken in his favor, and had proposed to enter the Michigan primaries again, there are many even among his opponents who would have wished him well. The claim was made on his behalf that he had been absent from his State—absorbed in war work—and not personally cognizant of expenditures made on his behalf, during the stubborn contest of 1918 against so popular a candidate as Henry Ford. To resign the seat, and to attempt to regain it as manager of his own campaign by personal appeal to his fellow citizens of Michigan, would be regarded in many quarters as the finest contribution a man in Senator Newberry's place could make toward a welcome era of better methods in our contests for public office.



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HON. TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, UNITED STATES
SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

(Mr. Newberry was a young business man of large interests when with the approach of the war with Spain twenty-four years ago he entered the Navy. In President Roosevelt's second term he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and, for a few months, Secretary and member of the Cabinet. When we entered the war in 1917, he joined the Navy again, and was in this Government service when the Republicans of Michigan elected him to the United States Senate in 1918, Mr. Henry Ford being the Democratic candidate. It was charged that Newberry's election was secured by the improper use of large sums of money. After a thorough investigation, the Senate confirmed him in his seat on January 12. Most Democratic Senators and several Republicans voted to declare the seat vacant.)

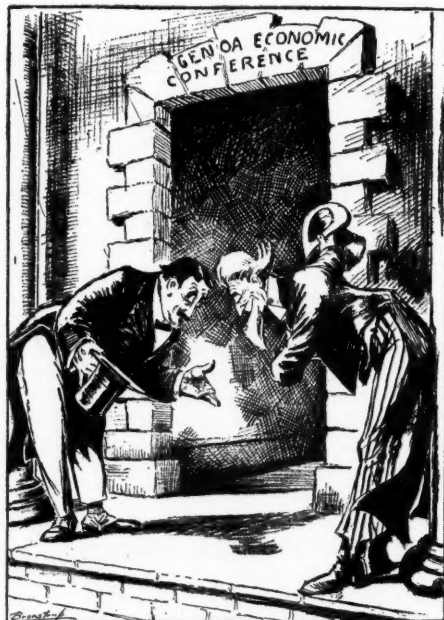
*The
Call to
Genoa*

All close observers of the Washington Conference agree in urging that the most valuable thing achieved there was in the sphere of international friendship. Men of cool judgment and wide learning declare that no previous conference of nations in all history has done so much to promote harmony. As our readers will note, Mr. Simonds in his survey of the Conference does not dissent from these happy conclusions. It was some weeks ago, while our Washington Conference was not even approaching its successful adjournment, that Mr. Lloyd George, as guiding spirit in a meeting with the French and Italian Prime Ministers at Cannes, determined to hold a European Economic Conference at Genoa in early March. It was at once announced that invitations to this august

gathering would be extended to Germany, Austria and Hungary, that Russia also would be invited, and that the official presence of the United States of America was particularly desired. Afterward the formal invitations were sent out by the Italian Government. Almost immediately, however, the French Ministry under Briand was in retirement and a new Cabinet headed by Poincaré took office. Only a little later there were political changes in Italy which overthrew the Ministry of Signor Bonomi. There were strenuous times also in German politics, but Chancellor Wirth continues to hold his place at least for the present. Meanwhile, the man who seems to have become Germany's foremost exponent, Dr. Walter Rathenau, has taken office as Foreign Minister.

*Reason
for
Delay*

There was much support in the United States for the view that this country should be represented at the Genoa Conference. But it was not difficult in the atmosphere of Washington to see why President Harding should delay. In the first place, the Washington Conference had its work to complete. In the second place, we could not appear at Genoa with any prestige or influence if the treaties



AFTER YOU, MY DEAR ALPHONSE
From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

emerging from this Washington Conference were in the slightest danger of being rejected by the Senate. In the third place, the Refunding Bill (relating to the foreign debts) was pending in Congress, and it was desirable to have it finally acted upon. In the fourth place, the United States had to consider carefully all that might be involved in the presence of Lenin and his Bolshevik associates at the Genoa Conference table.

*America
Might Take
Part*

Unquestionably this country has a great and necessary part to play in helping to stabilize economic conditions and to restore the world's financial and commercial exchanges. It would seem, however, that the March date originally fixed for the Genoa Conference was a mistake. France, apparently, was advising a three months' postponement. As Mr. Simonds well states in this month's article, there are political preliminaries that ought to be settled in Europe before an economic conference could be expected to have large results. American opinion would heartily support a full, permanent, mutual alliance between Great Britain and France. If the Genoa Conference should be postponed for several months, the way might seem clearer to President Harding and his advisers for our full participation. Meanwhile, there are important preliminary steps, strictly European in their nature, that might be taken for improvement of financial conditions, and of business intercourse; and, if these should be undertaken without delay, it might be easier to persuade the Government at Washington to assume an important and responsible place in a world conference to be held at a later time.

*Canada
Shoulders
Responsibility*

The public affairs of our esteemed neighbor on the north grow steadily more important; and we in the United States cannot afford to be unmindful of the progress and the policies of Canada. Thus it was announced last month that the new Dominion Government under Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King as Prime Minister has decided that the Dominion should be represented in the Genoa Conference. While there are no official announcements, it is believed that the British Government is preparing to assume the full burden of the heavy advances made by Canada for war purposes to the British Treasury. The amount of this debt which the Dominion

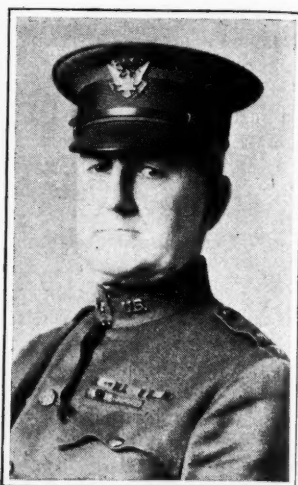
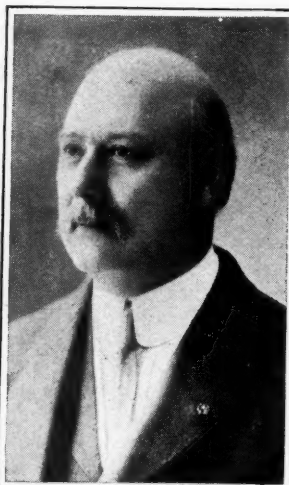
Government is perhaps soon to refund is, in round figures, about \$450,000,000. The total war indebtedness of Canada is about \$2,500,000,000. At the end of the Civil War the United States had a debt of about \$2,700,000,000 and a population of 36,000,000. Canada has now about 9,000,000. Our neighbors will carry their heavy load without grumbling, and will meet every obligation without default.

*Common
Interests with
the Dominion*

There is no country more gallant than Canada—none with a better record in recent times. And there is no other that is bound to the United States by so many ties of mutual interest and of friendly association. Canada's place is now distinctly fixed in the group of peoples called the British Commonwealth, and it is henceforth understood that the Dominion is entirely independent in all that pertains to her own affairs. Thus she will be at liberty to send an Ambassador of her own to Washington whenever it may seem desirable. She has long made her own tariff arrangements without dictation or interference from London. As we have more than once remarked in these pages, it is high time that a seat was made for Canada in the council room of the Pan-American Union at Washington. At this stage in tariff discussion it should be strongly urged by those who look well into the future that the welfare of the two halves of North America are to be regarded as identical. To create ill-will by tariff legislation at Washington, when we are trying to create good-will by all other means, would be harmful in any direction—transatlantic, transpacific, or southward; but it would be especially mischievous and unsound as a policy directed against our Canadian friends, whose prosperity is only less vital to us than is that of our own States.

*Our
Armed
Forces*

Overshadowing everything else that concerns our navy and its affairs at this time must be the amazing fact that we are under agreement to scrap a great number of ships, including costly superdreadnoughts upon which we have spent several hundred million dollars. The President last month stopped construction in the shipyards, while work upon fortifications more remote in the Pacific than Hawaii was also sharply terminated. The practical process of "scrapping" the navy is a topic to which we shall revert in the near



THE THREE MEN NOW MOST INFLUENTIAL IN SHAPING MILITARY POLICY AND IN DETERMINING THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW ARMY

(From left to right: General Pershing, Chief of Staff; Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, and General James G. Harbord, Acting Chief of Staff)

future. Meanwhile, the extent to which the personnel of the Navy ought to be reduced is a question to be dealt with carefully by those who are best qualified to handle it. A similar remark might be made about the size and character of the new army. We are glad to publish in this number of the REVIEW an article on this subject that emanates from the highest authority. Secretary Weeks explains the plans that have been adopted for maintaining a small but efficient military establishment, that could in case of need be rapidly expanded in the most efficient and least burdensome way. To have reduced our army from 4,000,000 men to 150,000 in about three years, while still maintaining the technical organization with all the new branches that were created during the Great War, has been no small task. There are limits of reduction beyond which the wisest friends of peace and the sturdiest foes of militarism would not deem it advantageous that we should proceed at the present moment.

England Meeting
Economic
Strains

The opportunity to economize in navy and army expenditures afforded by the success of the Washington Conference was eagerly embraced in Great Britain. Steps were at once taken last month greatly to reduce naval personnel and also to cut down the army. Sir Eric Geddes, who is one of the ablest administrators now in public life, boldly pro-

poses to bring the army, the navy, and the air service all together under one department of defense; and he has retrenchment plans that would save the British taxpayers several hundred million dollars a year. These proposals in England will tend to gain support for our reorganizers at Washington, who have for some time been advocating a similar merging of the civil administration of our armed forces. To understand the motives actuating British policy at the present time, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that England is dependent upon foreign trade, and that the economic reconstruction of Europe is an urgent matter from the standpoint of British manufacturing centers where several million people are suffering from unemployment. Mr. Simonds, in his survey this month, shows the striking contrast between the French and the English economic systems. The economic life of France is for the most part well balanced and self-contained. England, on the contrary, derives the greater part of her food and the raw material of her industries from the outside, and must in return have markets for her commodities. Discussing the foreign debts, Mr. Simonds remarks that the British are preparing to meet their obligations to the United States without question or delay; but that other countries are not yet in such financial order as to begin interest payments. The new debt commission at Washington will of course recognize facts, as they bear

upon the differing cases of the several governments with which they will take up negotiations. Meanwhile the British have their own war-debt adjustments to make. Australia is taking up a debt of \$400,000,000 owed to Great Britain, while a similar amount is due to Canada.

*Royal
Influence
Growing*

With the assembling of Parliament on February 7, the King appeared in person and expressed his satisfaction over the results of the Washington Conference. The royal influence has been exercised with such prudence and intelligence that it has been steadily increasing during recent years. King George has played an important part in bringing about the settlement of the Irish question. The journeyings of the Prince of Wales are not only training that popular young gentleman to succeed his father, but have been helping in practical ways at a time when the Empire is in the midst of its processes of post-war readjustment. With the approach of the wedding of the Princess Mary to Viscount Lascelles, the warm feeling of the British peoples toward the reigning family found new opportunity for expression. In a series of momentous situations, during recent years, King George has shown himself open-minded and capable of accepting new ideas without any of that reactionary instinct that was once supposed to belong essentially to the institution of monarchy.

*Recent
British
Adaptation*

Thus Britain now sets up the Dominions as sovereign States, with the King's good-will. As rapidly as possible, Britain is reorganizing the Government of India on a home-rule basis; and King George, who is Emperor of India, is not worrying about his prerogatives. Britain has given up the supremacy of the sea, which she had held since the days of Queen Elizabeth; and the King congratulates everybody upon an arrangement that shows full confidence in the friendship of the United States. The King has helped the Irish people to gain their political freedom, and has cared very little about the exact kind of oath of allegiance to the Crown. It is not unlikely that in the immediate future his influence may help to restore a good understanding with France, and to establish a basis of permanent agreement with that country which may lead to final settlement of German reparations, and thus pave the way for Europe's economic reconstruction.

Mar.—2



SIR ERIC GEDDES, HEAD OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL ECONOMY

(Sir Eric, who is a brother of the British Ambassador at Washington, filled various civil posts of the highest importance during the war, and has lately been working on the problem of reducing national expenditures. His proposals are even more sweeping than those of Gen. Charles G. Dawes' at Washington. The largest items of retrenchment relate to reductions in the personnel of the Army and Navy.)

*Setting Up
Ireland's
"Free State"*

As regards the Irish question, the British Parliament, as soon as it met in the second week of February, proceeded at once to pass the legislation necessary to give full force to the agreements which had been previously made by the Cabinet with the Irish leaders, and which had been ratified at Westminster before Parliament adjourned a few weeks earlier. This, of course, was merely a matter of formal detail. It was to be expected that the new order of things in Ireland would meet with difficulties. Mr. De Valera and his supporters far from being helpful to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins were recklessly obstructive. The Ulster local government, under the leadership of Sir James Craig, found itself in an awkward predicament over the boundary question. Sir James was insisting upon keeping under the Belfast jurisdiction the two counties of Fermanagh and

Tyrone, which by large majorities preferred to attach themselves to the Irish Free State. Obviously, it was a poor rule which would not work both ways. Sir James's attempt to ride on both horns of the dilemma was more painful than heroic, and was evidently marked for failure.

Border Troubles

The British Government had acclaimed the Free State by opening the prisons and granting amnesty to many hundreds of men who had been detained on political grounds. Sir James Craig's authorities in the North had, apparently, not been so generous; and a good many Sinn Feiners had been kept in jail. Early in February there were border raids, by way of reprisal, which resulted in the kidnapping of a number of excellent Ulster Presbyterians; and this, indeed, was a very wrong course of procedure. The only thing that can bring Ulster into its ultimate and proper place as a political part of Ireland—as the Dublin leaders well understand—is an exhibition of practical good sense and patient forbearance, through the opening period in the management of the new Irish Free State.

Jockeying Over "Genoa"

The British Government was inclined to be insistent upon the March date for the Genoa Conference; but obviously, if France as well as the United States could not take part at that time, the Conference would be futile. Meanwhile, the King of Italy had been unable to find a man who could form a new ministry to replace that of Signor Bonomi. Thus, after the lapse of a week, the Popular and Democratic parties came together, and agreed to bring back Bonomi and his full Cabinet, the Socialists also concurring. A number of things were involved in this political episode. The death of the Pope, the selection of his successor, and the improving relationships between the Italian Government and the Vatican bore some relation to Bonomi's return to power. This return, moreover, was, as it would seem, simultaneous with certain communications between Paris and Washington relating to the Genoa Conference. President Harding, on his part, did not announce his foreshadowed declination to send delegates to the economic conference, while in London it was said that the British Government would agree to a postponement when Italy should officially announce it. The Italian Socialists were

hoping that a delay of the Conference would secure an understanding which would give Russia a seat, without the result of keeping France and America from taking part. It was generally expected, therefore, that Bonomi would soon proceed to suggest that the conference meet at a later date.

The Papal Succession

The death of Pope Benedict XV occurred on January 22, and the Cardinals were at once summoned to meet at the Vatican for the choice of his successor. The late Pope had been in a difficult position during the Great War, because the Roman Catholic peoples of Europe were arrayed against one another. The Vatican made unavailing efforts from time to time to bring about peace by negotiation. Pope Benedict had accomplished much toward healing the breach between Church and State in Italy. It is the rule of the College of Cardinals to elect a Pope by a two-thirds majority; and this has on numerous occasions in the past brought forward a man little known, as a compromise. Cardinals Gasparri, Maffi, and Merry del Val were conspicuous in the public mind. The outside world would have welcomed the choice of Cardinal Mercier, of Belgium. But it has long been the custom to choose an Italian; and, indeed, the Italian Cardinals outnumber those of other nationalities. The choice last month fell upon Cardinal Achille Ratti, who at once assumed the name of Pius XI. The new Pope is identified with the city of Milan, where he had recently been made Archbishop. For some years he represented the Vatican in Poland, and he had previously been known as a learned scholar and librarian. His selection has met with wide favor in Italy and throughout the Roman Catholic world. We are publishing in this issue a well-informed article from the pen of Dr. Maurice Francis Egan on certain aspects of the Papacy and its relation to the Italian monarchy. Dr. Egan's long services as a Professor in the Catholic University at Washington, and his many years as an American diplomatist in Europe, have qualified him to write with exceptional knowledge.

Threats of a Coal Strike

The long-term agreements between the coal operators and the miners expire on the last day of March of this year. In February it seemed certain that there was no acceptable basis at hand for new agreements and that

there would be general strikes in the unionized mines of both the bituminous and anthracite coal fields. The anthracite miners have been demanding an increase of 20 per cent. in wages, with one dollar added to the pay of day workers, time-and-a-half for overtime, and double pay for Sundays and holidays. The bituminous coal miners are not asking an increase in wages, but have given notice of their intention to refuse the wage reductions which have been announced or which are about to be announced by the operators. The anthracite mine owners have given public notice that the price of coal to the consumer would be increased about \$1.30 a ton if the increased wages are granted.

*A Bad Outlook
for the
Householder*

The spokesmen for the unions have denied that the 20 per cent. increase in wages demanded should result in any such increase in the price of coal as \$1.30 per ton, and have given figures to show that such an increase in price is out of proportion to former calculations and statements of the operators themselves. The latter explain, however, that only 60 per cent. of the shipments of anthracite are of the prepared domestic sizes, and that the balance consists of so-called "steam sizes" which sell customarily below production cost and which are now in such hopeless competition with an overproduction of bituminous coal that they cannot bear any part of the suggested increase in wage costs. This must all be piled onto the 60 per cent. of anthracite production, consisting of coal for domestic uses. In this way, an actual increase in labor cost on the whole production of hard coal amounting to 78.4 cents a ton, when applied to the prepared sizes alone, would bring the increase to \$1.30. The average total mine cost per ton of anthracite is given as \$5.55 (of which \$3.92 is labor) and the luckless consumer is paying in New England and nearby States between \$15 and \$18, or nearly three times pre-war prices.

*Vicious Circle
of Wages
and Prices*

The inevitable result of these abnormally high prices for domestic fuel coal is that many of the poorer people who used it when it cost \$5 or \$6 a ton cannot use it at all now, and thousands of others are forced to restrict their consumption in greater or less degree. With this slackening of demand, the coal miners find themselves working, on the aver-

age, fewer and fewer days out of a year, so that even with the present rates of wages looking very high indeed, as compared with pre-war rates—and high as compared with any increased cost of living—the workers in the mines are individually earning each year much less than they should have on any basis of reasonably continuous employment. Feeling the pinch of their inadequate incomes, they insist on still higher wages, which tend to give a further push to retail prices of coal and, perhaps, by a new cut in consumption, make the miner's yearly income still more meager. There is no doubt of real suffering of the workers in many of the coal fields to-day. In some, the miners are averaging less than two days' work a week.

*Will Industry
Be
Held Up?*

If no way is found to reconcile the differences between the operators and the miners, the country may then look forward to a cessation of work by all union coal miners on April 1. This does not mean that the wheels of industry must, beginning with that date, stand still, or even after the supplies laid up by manufacturing concerns in anticipation of this event are used up. The present normal consumption of bituminous coal in the United States is about 7,000,000 tons weekly. Under the drive of war-time needs this production was increased for a short time to 15,000,000 tons weekly. About 30 per cent. of the bituminous miners are non-unionized, and it is expected that they will keep at work even in the event of a general strike and that they may produce as much as 4,000,000 tons per week. Such an amount of new production, when reinforced by the enormous accumulations of coal already mined—a result of the past year of acute industrial depression—should keep the wheels of industry moving fairly well, although there will be vast waste and confusion in the redistribution of transportation facilities following the closing down of more than half of the mines. It has been announced that the American Federation of Labor will support the coal miners in their strike, and in February they were attempting to make an active alliance with the railway labor unions.

*The
Larger
View*

Whether the situation is temporarily patched up with some new compromise wage agreements, or whether the strike runs its demoralizing course and is won or lost by

the miners, the real and great trouble will be untouched until there is a complete revolution in the industry of coal-mining in America. At present the productive capacity of our coal mines and their equipment is much greater than the normal consumption of the country. The multitude of operators, large and small, are attempting to make money in spite of that fact by digging out the richest and most accessible seams, with all the waste inherent in such a system or lack of system; the miners are only averaging from two to four days a week, and the plan of distribution and transportation is hopelessly confused. The industry is in position to follow the experience of Great Britain's coal mines. There the rich seams near the surface have been exhausted, and the deeper and poorer workings now reached are producing scarcely one-half as much coal as was produced ten years ago with a cost per ton several times as great.

*A New System
Absolutely
Necessary*

Something must be done to change the whole system. No more tremendous and worthy task could be imagined for a man like Mr. Hoover. One set of men looks to an extension of government control, or even to government ownership, for a solution of the problem. A greater number, mindful of our experience in government operation of the railroads and government operation of its shipping industry, feel that this would be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire, and believe that the only hope for the American nation to get plenty of reasonably cheap coal, with scientific conservation of this great natural resource, lies in the control and operation of the industry by a small number of well-financed and more or less monopolistic corporations. They see the obvious dangers from such a development, but believe they are less to be feared than the almost certain disaster of government ownership with its killing of initiative, morale, and centralized responsibility. They point to the oil, steel, and other basic industries which have been developed more or less monopolistically, and show that the genius and ambition of the American captains of industry have in these fields measurably solved the problems as yet unsolved in coal mines, and that, in all, the dangers of monopoly have been endured and American people are furnished with good steel and good oil at prices which tend to decrease rather than to grow out of all reason.

*Oil for Only
Twenty
Years*

The chief competitor of coal in industrial development—petroleum—may within the generation immediately ahead of us become less of a competitor. The recently completed estimate of the oil reserves of the United States made by the United States Geological Survey gives the available supply as 9,150,000,000 barrels, sufficient to meet the requirements of the country, at the present rate of consumption, for only twenty years. It is true, of course, that the oil cannot be taken out of the ground so fast as this, and that there will be producing oil wells long after the twenty years have elapsed, not to speak of the new supplies from shale deposits, when processes for extracting these have been further perfected. But what this does mean is that an increasing proportion of oil needed for American industry must be brought in from other countries, and with the rapid exhaustion of the enormous Mexican wells, through the inrush of salt water, it is not at present demonstrable just where we will get all the oil needed, at the present rate of increase in demand, twenty years from now.

*Distribution
of Oil
Reserves*

The United States is already using over 500,000,000 barrels a year and has an annual production of nearly 500,000,000 barrels. Petroleum engineers hope for a much less wasteful utilization of our oil reserves through new and improved methods of recovery, and their figures show very conclusively the overwhelming need of such methods of conservation. Of the estimated reserves of oil at present existing, it is striking to find the great petroleum producing State of Pennsylvania down to 260,000,000 million barrels—as compared, for instance, with 1,850,000,000 barrels in California, 1,340,000,000 in Oklahoma, and 2,100,000,000 in the Gulf Coast region of Texas and Louisiana. The Geological Survey divides the reserves into oil "in sight," estimated at 5,000,000,000 barrels, and "prospective and possible" oil something like 4,000,000,000 barrels.

*Stirrings in
the Copper
Industry*

After struggling for a time with the post-war industrial depression that began in 1920, the copper industry virtually gave up and shut down. At the beginning of last year, there were well over a billion pounds of copper already mined and on hand, with demand far below the normal and a price for copper that did not begin to cover, in the average

mine, the cost of production. To cope with this situation, the copper mines simply stopped producing. The output in March, 1921, was 91,000,000 pounds and in April it was only 47,000,000. The remaining months of the year saw production come down to amounts ranging between 22,000,000 and 28,000,000 pounds. Now there are intimations that the mines will soon begin work again. The huge Anaconda Copper Mining Company has begun preliminary operations and the Calumet and Hecla has announced that some of its mines will begin work on April 1. During the shut-down period, the supply on hand had been reduced from 1,124,000,000 to 793,000,000 pounds of crude copper while the refined metal has been brought from 659,000,000 to 496,000,000 pounds. In order to take care of the situation facing them at the beginning of 1921, with this enormous stock of metal on hand and no current earnings in sight, the producers formed an Export Association and borrowed \$40,000,000 against 400,000,000 pounds of refined copper on hand, issuing 8 per cent. gold notes which were redeemed as the stock of copper was marketed abroad. At the beginning of the present year, something more than one-quarter of this export copper had actually been sold in Europe. Another incident which has helped to instil some life in the industry was the recent novel merger of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company with the American Brass Company, through the purchase of the stock of the brass company by Anaconda. Copper produced by the Anaconda Company will thus be manufactured and sold in finished form by its own factories. The American Brass Company was the largest consumer of the metal in the world.

Huge Business Losses of 1921

The reports for the year 1921 of the great industrial units of America are being published in the first quarter of this year. They reveal the full meaning of the depression we have been passing through. The losses suffered by the great packing, sugar, leather, and mail-order houses are measured by the tens of millions for single concerns. Armour & Co., the largest food products business, reports a deficit of \$31,000,000—more than the net earnings of its most profitable year. Sears, Roebuck & Co., the leading mail-order business in the world, had a deficit in 1921 of \$16,000,000, and was only saved from an

impairment of its capital by a huge outright present to the corporation from its president, Julius Rosenwald. Montgomery, Ward & Co., the second largest concern in this business of selling direct to the farmers and other rural and small-town dwellers, was in even worse case; in February it was proposing to save its capital position by valuing its stock liability at \$10 per share instead of \$30, the figure used before. The banks have had a hard time tiding over their customers, and most of the State systems for guaranteeing bank deposits have gone out of business for the time. In the State of Washington, every bank has left the guarantee system. A business that closed the year with no profit at all, but no loss, was considered fortunate. There is scarcely a doubt that the year was the most difficult, financially, of our generation. Naturally the almost fantastic losses of the larger concerns were caused chiefly by the sudden drop in the value of inventories.

*The Turn
of the
Tide*

There has been a wholesome disposition on the part of American business men to face the music, to acknowledge that their stocks of goods and supplies were worth only one-half or two-thirds of their cost, to mark them down in spite of the startlingly bad results on their balance sheets, and to start out afresh with confidence that the tide would turn. While in some lines of business it is probable that the low point has not even yet been reached, in most fields it certainly has been reached and a slow and hesitant movement for the better has started in. This is indicated strongly by the stock market, which has been rising, not rapidly, but with fair consistency, with the leading industrial securities quoted now fifteen to twenty points higher, on the average, than the low levels of June and August of last year. In the meantime, the underlying healthy state of American finance has been strikingly shown by a very strong demand for bonds and other of the best classes of investment securities. Not only have the old issues been rising rapidly in price; new issues of very large amounts have been easily and even eagerly absorbed. In December last, more than half a billion of new securities were floated by the industrial companies and the railroads with no difficulty whatever, the largest month's output of investment securities, save two, in history, if Liberty Bond flotations be disregarded.



SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON

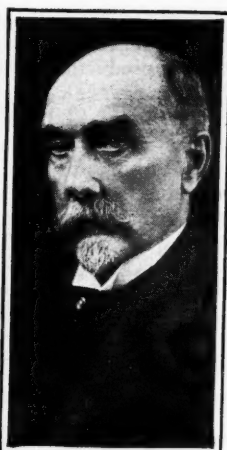


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E. H. SHAUGHNESSY



JOHN KENDRICK BANGS



© Underwood

A. BARTON HEPBURN

*World Figures
Who Have
Passed Away*

Besides the name of Pope Benedict, our obituary record contains the name of another world figure, Lord Bryce of England. We are publishing some reminiscences of James Bryce elsewhere in this issue. He belonged almost as truly to this country as to Great Britain. If he had been associated with several Prime Ministers, he had also known almost equally well several American Presidents, and a host of our Cabinet officers, judges, and members of both houses of Congress. He had known the United States well in the periods of Garfield and Arthur, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, and he had met Mr. Harding both as Senator and as President. Another Briton of world fame was Sir Ernest Shackleton. This intrepid explorer died at sea on January 5 in Antarctic waters while upon another of his voyages which was intended to add to our scientific knowledge of the regions about the South Pole. A statesman and soldier alike eminent in Orient and Occident was Field Marshal Prince Yamagata, who had outlived most of his famous associates of the "Genro" or Elder Statesmen of Japan. He had always been a warm friend of the United States. He and Lord Bryce were born in 1838.

*Some
Americans of
Worth*

Mr. A. Barton Hepburn of New York was a citizen of public spirit and a banker of great knowledge and wide influence. Mrs. George Foster Peabody (known throughout the country as Katrina Trask) had contributed much by her pen and her influence to elevate American sentiment and give true direction to social effort and sympathy. Her writings both in prose and verse were exquisite in form and spirit. Her beautiful estate at Saratoga has been bequeathed for public uses, and will benefit American art and letters. Mr. John Kendrick Bangs, so widely popular as a genial humorist, was a typical American of the sturdiest principles. He had in recent years lectured in every part of the country, and in his death we lose a true leader and teacher. Colonel Edward H. Shaughnessy, who was Second Assistant Postmaster General, was one of the victims of a disaster at Washington at the end of January which resulted in the death of about a hundred people and the injury of many more. Mr. Shaughnessy was doing conspicuously good work in the Post-Office Department. He had served with similar energy and ability with our troops in France in the transportation department. He was not yet forty years of age.



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MRS. GEO. FOSTER PEABODY
("KATRINA TRASK")

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 15 to February 13, 1922)

THE CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

[The Conference had held its first plenary session on November 12, after acceptance of invitations issued by President Harding on August 11, 1921, with delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. Mr. Hughes had made his famous 5-5-3 naval reduction proposal immediately after being chosen presiding officer (see p. 646, December, 1921). By December 10, the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been superseded by the new Four Power Treaty on the Pacific; and on December 12 Secretary Hughes had announced settlement of the Yap controversy with Japan by treaty. The 5-5-3 naval ratio had been accepted December 15 by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, contingent on fixing ratios for France and Italy.]

January 16.—The Committee on Far Eastern questions agrees to table discussion of the "Twenty-one Demands"—which Japan forced upon China—until the Shantung issue is settled.

January 18.—The Committee on Far Eastern Questions adopts Mr. Hughes' resolution designed to make China's "open door" a fact, but it eliminates at Japan's request a retroactive provision permitting either party to existing concessions to submit them to a board of reference when inconsistent with other concessions or the principles of the open door resolution; the powers agree to apply jointly the open door and provide a board of reference to determine practical methods.

January 21.—The Far Eastern Committee adopts the Hughes resolution for publishing Chinese concession agreements, Japan amending it to require China to publish agreements with foreign nationals on other than public-utility matters.

January 23.—Baron Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador, declares a policy of non-intervention in Russia and respect for her territorial integrity, not however, announcing the date for withdrawal of troops.

January 25.—President Harding and Mr. Hughes confer with Dr. Sze of China on a Shantung settlement; 10,000 students at Peking parade in protest against direct negotiations with Japan on Shantung.

January 30.—The Shantung deadlock, after two months of discussion, ends with a settlement in which China agrees to pay 53,000,000 gold marks for the railway in notes redeemable in five years and expiring in fifteen.

February 1.—The Conference in its fifth plenary session formally ratifies agreements shaped by its committees—the Five Power (United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy) Naval Treaty, limiting the numbers of capital ships, the Five Power treaty prohibiting submarines as

commerce destroyers, and resolutions regarding China as follows: Removal of foreign post offices before January 1, 1923, diplomatic inquiry to fix date for troop withdrawals, the radio agreement, the promise to file lists of all treaties with China, the "earnest hope" that China will reduce her military forces, and China's agreement not to discriminate in rates on railroads operated by Chinese.

February 2.—Japan withdraws Group 5 of her Twenty-one Demands, which were alleged to deprive China of her own Government.

February 4.—The Shantung treaty is signed by which Japan returns the former German leasehold on the province to China; China regains complete control over the province and the Shantung railroad.

The sixth plenary session adopts the "open door" treaty with China, including the Root resolutions pledging the powers to give China a chance to get on her feet, and the treaty on Chinese tariff providing a commission to revise the rates and abolish the *likin* (a sort of interstate tax or duty).

February 6.—The Washington Conference comes to an end with the signing of five treaties and a laudatory address by President Harding on the work of the delegates.

A five power conference is to be held after eight years on naval armament, and a five power commission is to revise rules of warfare; as to China, the tariff will be revised by a separate commission, an international commission will study extraterritorial rights, and a board of reference will consider questions relating to railways and economics.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 16.—The Senate Finance Committee, after five months consideration, reports the Foreign Debt Refunding bill; the features of the House bill objected to by Secretary Mellon are removed.

January 17.—The Senate, voting 63 to 9, passes a bill increasing the Federal Reserve Board membership to six instead of five to permit appointment of a farmer member.

January 18.—The Senate passes a bill extending time to build the proposed Hudson River Bridge another fifteen years; construction must begin within five years.

The Senate agrees to House changes in the joint resolution authorizing the President to prohibit arms exports to any American country, or any country in which domestic violence exists where the United States exercises extraterritorial jurisdiction.

The House Military Committee hears General Pershing recommend retention of nine main army training posts, and seven additional guard and reserve camps, and the reduction of personnel to 14,000 efficient officers.

January 20.—The Senate adopts the Smoot resolution inquiring into conditions precedent to farm loans, the number of applications, and the amount of funds on hand.

January 21.—The Senate passes the Interchangeable Mileage Book bill authorizing books of from 1000 to 5000 miles at "just and reasonable rates" to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

January 26.—The House passes the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, voting 230 to 119; the bill provides penalties, makes lynching a federal crime, and defines three or more persons as a mob; the county from the jail of which a lynched prisoner is taken and the county in which one is mobbed are penalized.

January 27.—The Senate Labor Committee reports through Mr. Kenyon (Rep., Iowa) on the West Virginia-Kentucky coal strike.

January 30.—The House passes the Independent Offices appropriation bill, 167 to 41, carrying a total of \$503,833,713; the Emergency Fleet Corporation gets \$100,000,000 and high salaries are reduced; the Veteran's Bureau receives \$377,474,622.

January 31.—The Senate, in open session, unanimously confirms the appointment of William S. Kenyon (Rep., Iowa) as Judge of the Eighth District Federal court; Mr. Kenyon had led the so-called "Farm Bloc" in the Senate.

In the Senate, the Foreign Debt Refunding bill is passed, 39 to 26, efforts to attach a soldiers' bonus rider failing; a commission of five is to be appointed by the President for three years; refunding securities will bear not less than 4½ per cent. interest and mature in not more than twenty-five years; the commission has no authority to cancel any debt.

February 3.—The House passes the Foreign Debt Refunding bill.

February 7.—In the Senate, Henry Ford's offer to purchase the Government's nitrate and power development at Muscle Shoals, Ala., is referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

February 8.—The Senate passes the House Co-operative Marketing bill, voting 58 to 1; it permits co-operative buying and selling by farmers; dividends are limited to 8 per cent.; and deals by non-members may not exceed in value those by members.

February 10.—In the Senate, President Harding in person presents for ratification the treaties formulated by the Washington Conference; he submits also full minutes of all meetings, and forcefully urges ratification.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—President Harding sends the report of the Joint Commission on the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Canal to Congress, which is expected to act on it before the session ends.

January 19.—The housing investigation committee in New York hears testimony that ten landlords filed 20,000 suits for increased rents, and received raises amounting to \$1,350,000.

January 22.—Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the New York housing investigation, announces a plan to build 1500 apartments to rent for eight dollars a room, housing 225,000 persons at a cost of \$100,000,000 to be advanced by insurance

companies; there is a reported shortage of homes for 400,000 persons.

January 23.—A National Agricultural Congress is opened by President Harding and Secretary Wallace, at Washington, D. C., to determine policies for the relief of the crisis in the agricultural industry (see page 271).

January 24.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, announces his opposition to soldier bonus legislation, which he thinks would postpone industrial revival and interfere with refunding the public debt.

January 27.—The Agricultural Conference ends at Washington, demanding that labor and capital share in the deflation of prices suffered by farmers, and calling upon railroads to reduce wages and rates; crop acreage limitation is favored, both here and abroad, until conditions improve, Henry Ford's Muscle Shoals project and the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Canal are endorsed, and an international conference on reconstruction in Europe is urged.

January 28.—The Interstate Commerce Commission requires railroads which earned over 6 per cent. between September 1, 1920, and January 1, 1921, to pay half of the excess to the Government.

January 30.—The United States Supreme Court decides that intoxicating liquor stored in Government bonded warehouses cannot be withdrawn by owners for private use, but can only be transported to wholesale druggists; under a previous decision, owners could withdraw their stocks of liquor from private warehouses for personal use.

February 2.—New Jersey's highest court holds the State prohibition enforcement law (the Van Ness act) unconstitutional, because it denied trial by jury.

February 3.—At a meeting of the Business Organization of the Government, President Harding announces a direct saving of \$38,000,000, and an indirect saving of \$104,000,000 in four months as a result of the operation of the new Bureau of the Budget.

Governor McRae of Arkansas proclaims March 22 as "no tobacco day" throughout the State, claiming use of the weed is "contributing to unmistakable and certain degeneracy."

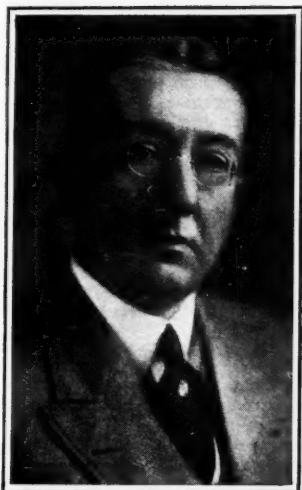
February 5.—The United States Employment Service reports an increase in employment in forty of sixty-five cities under survey.

February 6.—President Harding orders all work stopped on naval construction, without waiting for ratification of the international Five Power agreement to limit navies, and he halts fortification work at Guam, the Philippines, and other Pacific islands.

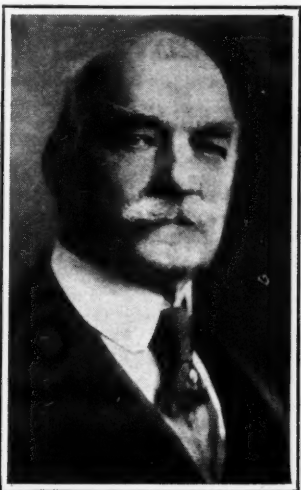
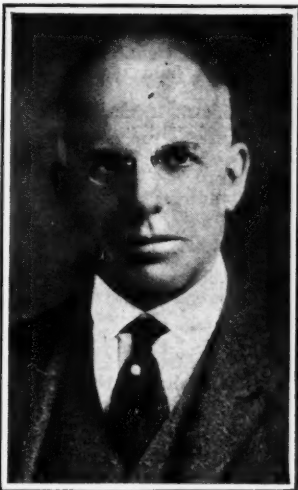
February 8.—The Labor Department requests an appropriation by Congress of \$1,240,000 to carry out the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner maternity law.

Secretary Mellon announces that the tax-exempt 3¾ per cent. Victory notes (\$400,000,000 outstanding) have been called for redemption at par on June 15; conversion privileges are suspended.

February 9.—Mayor Thompson of Chicago appoints a Methodist minister, Rev. John H. Williamson, to supervise the moral welfare of the city.



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HON. ALANSON B. HOUGHTON,
AMBASSADOR TO GERMANYHON. THEODORE BRENTANO,
MINISTER TO HUNGARY

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HON. ALBERT HENRY WASHBURN,
MINISTER TO AUSTRIA

(The resumption of full diplomatic relations with our three principal enemies in the recent war is now evidenced by the selection of a highly competent Ambassador to Germany and similarly well-qualified Ministers to Austria and Hungary. Mr. Houghton is a fine type of the scholar in business and the business man in politics. After graduation from Harvard he studied in German and French universities, and then helped to build up the great glass industry at Corning, N. Y., with which he has been identified for more than thirty years. For the past three years he has served his New York district in Congress. A better man to represent America abroad it would be hard to find. Judge Brentano, who goes to Budapest, was born in Michigan, but has been at home in Chicago for more than sixty years. During the past twenty years he has been Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. A part of his schooling was obtained in Germany and Switzerland. Mr. Washburn, who will go to Vienna, was private secretary of Hon. Andrew D. White during his college work at Cornell University, was a consul in Germany for several years, then secretary to Senator Lodge, United States Attorney in Massachusetts, and later a customs lawyer in New York. At present he holds the chair of political science and international law at Dartmouth College. In experience, knowledge and character he is qualified for any diplomatic post, however responsible. Seldom in history have three such conspicuously fine appointments, at the same time, been made to our diplomatic service)

President Harding signs the Foreign Debt Refunding bill providing for conversion of \$11,000,000,000 owed by foreign Governments.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—At Dublin Castle, Lord Lieutenant Fitzalan turns over to the Provisional Government all official powers upon presentation by Michael Collins of a copy of the treaty endorsed by himself and his colleagues.

January 18.—The Irish Free State negotiates a short-term loan of £1,000,000 from the Bank of Ireland.

January 19.—Premier Poincaré receives a vote of confidence (472 to 107) in the French Chamber of Deputies on a pledge to make Germany pay in full her reparation debts.

January 21.—Michael Collins and Sir James Craig confer at London regarding the Ulster boundary; boycotts are dropped by both sides.

January 23.—The Malabar uprising of native Moplahs in India is declared under control, with 3891 casualties, 5688 captured, and 38,256 surrendered; there are 1,000,000 of these Moplahs descendants of Arab traders, who tried forcibly to convert Hindus to Mohammedanism while in revolt.

In China, President Hsu-Shih-Chi'ang announces that Premier Liang has been granted a leave of absence, and that Dr. W. W. Yen, the Foreign Minister, will take his place.

January 24.—In Egypt, a group of Nationalists is arrested immediately following a boycott proclamation along "non-coöperation" lines in a newspaper promptly suppressed by Lord Allenby.

January 26.—Chancellor Wirth notifies the German Reichstag of the new tax program; he proposes a compulsory loan of 1,000,000,000 gold marks, a 2 per cent. business tax, and a 40 per cent. duty on coal.

January 30.—In a Calcutta suburb, 4000 rioting native workmen are fired on by the police, and there are casualties.

January 31.—It is announced that 12,000 British troops and "Black and Tan" police auxiliaries have evacuated Ireland.

Dr. Walter Rathenau is appointed German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

February 1.—The Italian Cabinet under Premier Bonomi resigns upon failure of support, largely because of cordiality to the Vatican.

February 2.—A national railway strike completely stops German transportation by rail; airplane companies advertise "flights anywhere at any time."

February 5.—At Berlin, the public utilities services are cut off by strikes, in sympathy with the railroad strike for higher wages, which the Government claims it cannot pay without bankruptcy.

February 6.—Irish leaders of North and South

confer on the Ulster boundary with Lloyd George, but they fail to agree.

Portugal's eighth Cabinet since February 24, 1921, takes hold with Premier Antonio Maria Silva at the helm.

At Chauri, British India, native rioters numbering 2000 kill 17 police; at Bareilly, a small police force puts another mob to flight.

February 7.—The British Parliament convenes and is addressed by King George and the Prime Minister.

The German railway strike ends on condition that there will be no wholesale discharges.

At Tokio, Viscount Keiso Kiyoura succeeds the late Prince Yamagata as President of the Privy Council.

February 8.—Along the Ulster border, raiders from South Ireland kill two men, wound 15, and capture nearly 200 Unionist leaders; the trouble is laid to preparations to execute Sinn Feiners whose death warrant had been canceled but delayed in transmission.

February 9.—The British Indian government orders the immediate arrest of Mahatma K. Gandhi, leader of the non-coöperation movement among the natives.

February 10.—The King of Italy refuses Premier Bonomi's resignation, and he returns to power with his full Cabinet upon readjustment of political difficulties among his former supporting parties.

At London, the Committee on National Economy

reports means for saving expenditures of £75,061,875, reducing army and navy personnel 85,000.

February 12.—Irish Republicans make a public demonstration at Dublin, headed by De Valera, who is attempting to organize opposition to the ratification of the treaty creating the Irish Free State.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 18.—Enver Pasha, former Turkish Minister of War, wanted for Armenian massacres and theft of large Turkish funds, is reported captured and handed over to Nationalists at Angora.

General Henry T. Allen honors Italy's "unknown soldier" by placing the American Congressional Medal on the tomb at Rome.

January 21.—Mexico publishes a Presidential decree abolishing passports for United States citizens effective February 1.

A Congress of Oppressed Far Eastern Peoples opens at the Kremlin, Moscow, with 200 delegates, largely Communists, Japan and India being represented.

January 22.—Foreign Minister Count Uchida tells the Japanese Diet that Japan will lose no time withdrawing troops from Siberia upon establishment of political stability and protection of lives and property of her nationals, security of general traffic, removal of menace to Japan, and safeguarding of industry.

The Four-Power Consortium agrees to let China float a 14,000,000 tael domestic loan secured by the salt revenues at 83.5 with interest at 1.2 per cent. monthly; the overdue Japanese loan of 20,000,000 yen is to be reduced \$700,000 a month from the salt surplus.

January 24.—Chile's Foreign Minister, Barros Jarpa, announces his government will not participate in a conference at Washington with Peru on the Tacna-Arica dispute if Bolivia is admitted.

January 26.—The 375 American Marines at Camaguey, Cuba, are ordered withdrawn by Secretary Denby.

January 28.—President Harding refuses to take the initiative in settling the Tacna-Arica dispute in a note replying to a Bolivian proposal, but sees no objection to Bolivia joining with Chile and Peru if satisfactory to those countries.

Germany asks the Reparations Commission to relieve her of making any 1922 cash payments, for a reduction of cash payments, and for an increase in payments in kind.

February 2.—William C. Cook is received at Caracas as the new American Minister to Venezuela.

The Central American Federation breaks up on the eve of the expected birth of the proposed union; Honduras takes steps to resume her sovereignty (Guatemala repudiated the arrangement last December upon the fall of the Herrera régime).

Premier Poincaré suggests to the other Allies that all war indemnity questions be referred back to the Reparations Commission.

February 3.—Dr. B. T. C. Loder, of Holland, is elected President of the International Court of Justice, in its first session at The Hague.

February 6.—At the Vatican, Cardinal Achille



MRS. ASQUITH, NOW LECTURING IN THE UNITED STATES

Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, is elected Pope, choosing the name Pius XI (see page 258).

February 7.—President Harding nominates Alanson B. Houghton of New York as Ambassador to Germany, Albert Henry Washburn of Massachusetts as Minister to Austria, and Theodore Brentano of Illinois as Minister to Hungary.

February 8.—France suggests in a note to Britain that, unless they can agree in advance on problems to be covered at Genoa, the economic conference should be postponed.

February 9.—France in a note to America and the Allies says that unless the conditions of January 6 (not covered in the Russian official acceptance) are accepted entirely by every participating Government, France cannot send delegates to Genoa.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 16.—Secretary Denby announces that the Navy is 99.7 per cent. American, there being only 352 aliens among 119,205 men in the service; only 6.8 per cent. of discharges are dishonorable and there are 6000 good conduct medals; there are 5545 Filipinos, 2385 negroes, 139 Samoans, 296 Hawaiians, 197 Porto Ricans, and 86 American Indians in the service.

January 22.—The Atlantic Fleet begins annual maneuvers under Admiral Hilary P. Jones at Guantanamo, Cuba, where the fleet has practised every year since 1903.

January 29.—A terrific snowstorm sweeps the Atlantic seaboard with a fall of from one to two feet throughout the Middle Atlantic section; The Knickerbocker moving picture theatre at Washington collapses with the weight of snow on the roof, nearly 100 persons being killed and many others seriously injured.

January 30.—The General Education Board announces release by Mr. Rockefeller of the obligation to hold funds in perpetuity; \$126,788,094 has been donated, of which the interest has been used, and \$42,132,442 has been distributed from the principal; the Board last year gave \$11,859,513.25 for medical education.

February 2.—At Newport, Ky., State guardsmen with seven tanks arrive to maintain order in a strike at the rolling mills, where there has been serious trouble.

February 3.—The New York Federation of Women's Clubs defeats an anti-vivisection resolution by an overwhelming vote after an explanatory talk by Dr. Simon Flexner.

February 6.—New York State reports 55,516 convictions of crime in 1921 compared with 40,691 in 1920; 62 more females were convicted, and intoxication convictions rose from 5287 to 10,291; there were 26,791 misdemeanor cases.

February 13.—Nearly 75,000 organized textile workers in New England go on strike against a reduction of 20 per cent. in wages.

OBITUARY

January 5.—Sir Ernest Shackleton, noted British explorer of the Antarctic region, 47.

January 17.—George Baldwin Selden, of Rochester, N. Y., inventor of the first gasoline propelled vehicle, 77.

January 18.—Everett Yeaw, of South Orange, N. J., schoolbook publisher, 52.

January 19.—Austin Willard Lord, long a prominent New York architect, 52. . . . Archbishop Charles Hugh Gauthier of Ottawa, 78.

January 20.—James M. Craig, well known actuary, 74.

January 21.—John Kendrick Bangs, humorous author and lecturer, 60. . . . Dr. Charles Henry Miller, of New York, landscape painter, 79.

January 22.—Pope Benedict XV, 68. . . . Viscount James Bryce, historian and diplomatist, former British Ambassador to the United States, and political economist, scholar, and author of renown, 84 (see page 277).

January 23.—Col. Francis Edwin Elwell, sculptor, of Stamford, Conn. 63. . . . Cardinal Almaraz y Santos, Archbishop of Toledo, 75.

January 24.—Arthur Nikisch, the noted Hungarian orchestra conductor, 66.

January 25.—Alonzo Barton Hepburn, of New York, lawyer, financier, and philanthropist, 75.

January 27.—Giovanni Verga, Italian novelist and poet, 82. . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman ("Nellie Bly"), journalist, 56. . . . Dr. Walter Van Vleet, noted plant breeder, 64. . . . Frank Weston, actor, 72.

January 28.—Prof. Charles Baskerville, of the College of the City of New York, an authority in chemistry, 51. . . . Carl H. A. Bjerregaard, of N. Y. Public Library, authority on mysticism, 76.

January 30.—Colgate Hoyt, New York, banker and railroad man, 73.

January 31.—Solon Hannibal Borglum, sculptor and teacher, 53.

February 2.—Field Marshal Prince Yamagata, Japanese publicist and Elder Statesman, 83. . . . Evarts Tracy, architect and camouflage expert, 53.

February 3.—Col. Edward H. Shaughnessy, Second Assistant Postmaster General, 39. . . . Charles Lewis Taylor, president of the Carnegie Hero Fund, 65. . . . Bartow Sumter Weeks, New York Supreme Court Justice, 61. . . . John Butler Yeats, Irish essayist and painter, 83.

February 4.—Brig.-Gen. Frederick Appleton Smith, U. S. A., retired, 72.

February 5.—Francis Markoe Scott, former New York Supreme Court Justice and chairman of the Charter Division Commission, 74. . . . General Christian De Wet, famous Boer commander, 68. . . . Annie T. Allen, of Auburndale, Mass., Near East Relief Director at Angora. . . . James William Tate, composer and actor, 47. . . . Paul Durand-Ruel, noted French art dealer, 90.

February 6.—Alessandro Fabbri, New York naturalist and inventor, 44.

February 8.—Count Admiral Sukenori Kabayama, former Japanese Minister of War, 85. . . . Josiah Taylor Marean, former Justice of New York Supreme Court, 80. . . . Thomas S. Weaver, journalist and educator, of Hartford, Conn.

February 9.—Peter Butler Olney, noted New York lawyer, 79. . . . Robert Forsyth, actor, 76.

February 11.—Dr. Pearce Bailey, of New York, distinguished neurologist and originator of the Army psychiatric tests, 57. . . . Tudor Jenks, author of books for young people, 64. . . . Alexander Archibald, Mayor of Newark, N. J., 52.

CONFERENCE—BONUS—IRELAND

VARIOUS TOPICS AS PRESENTED IN CARTOONS



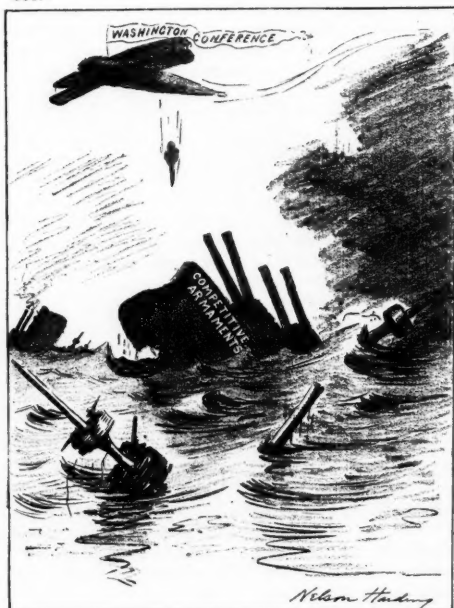
THE DOXOLOGY AT THE CLOSE OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT
From the News (Rome, Ga.)



GIVE ME A TICKET TO GENOA
From the Citizen (Brooklyn, N. Y.)
[With the Washington Conference ended, the world looks forward to the economic conference called to meet at Genoa early in March—which, however, seemed certain last month to be postponed.]



THE FINAL ACT AND THE CURTAIN CALL OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE
From the Record (Stockton, Cal.)



OUR GREATEST NAVAL VICTORY
From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



IF WE CAN ONLY GET THE WASHING HOME
From the Tribune © (New York)

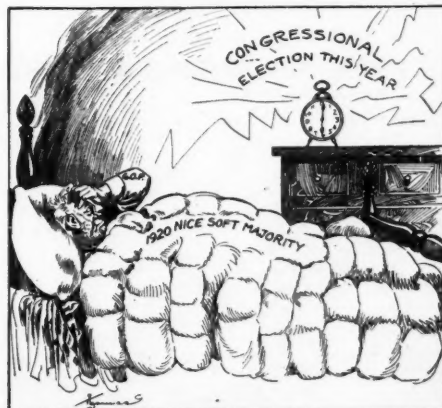
The treaties formulated by the Washington Conference are now before the Senate. As the leaders of both political parties, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Underwood, were negotiators for America, it is believed that the treaties will be ratified.



THE DOVE HUNTERS
From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)



INTRODUCTIONS ARE NOW IN ORDER
From the News (Rome, Ga.)



TIME TO GO TO WORK
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



BREAKING FOND TIES
From the Star (Washington, D. C.)



YOU'VE GOT TO TREAT 'EM ROUGH NOWADAYS!
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



TRYING TO PRY IT OPEN
From the *World* (New York)



SEARCHING FOR A LITTLE MORE TAX MONEY
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

[A majority of our Congressmen are declared to be in favor of the proposal to present a bonus to veterans of the recent war—but how is the money to be raised?]

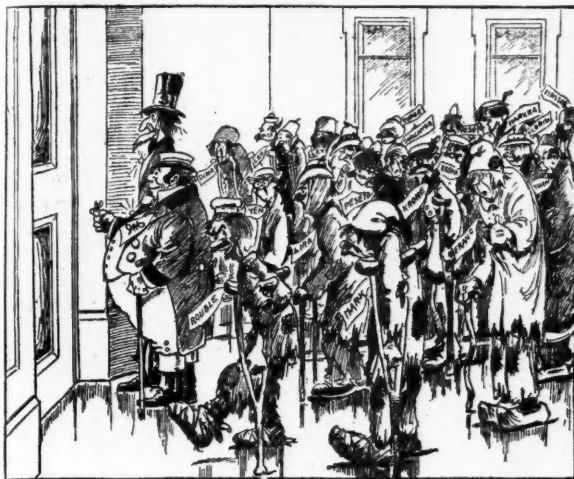


OLD MOTHER HUBBARD
From the *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.)



THE CONGRESSMAN—FACING A REELECTION CAMPAIGN—SEES TROUBLE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)





THE WORLD ECONOMIC CLINIC AT GENOA
(From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada))



"WHEN DOCTORS DISAGREE"
FRITZ: "I think they've given him up!"
From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, Eng.)
[Premier Lloyd George, of England, and Poincaré, new Prime Minister of France, being the doctors, with the Entente as the patient]



LLOYD GEORGE AND DISCONTENT IN INDIA,
EGYPT, AND IRELAND
(How will he manage to keep them in check?)
From *Tyrihans* (Christiania, Norway)



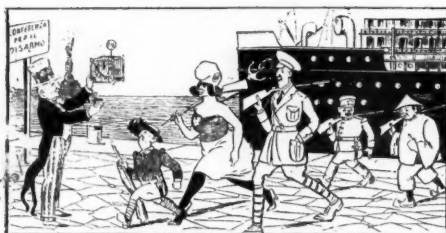
"SO! IT IS AGREED. WE CONTINUE TO DISARM UNTIL ONLY ONE OF US IS ALIVE!"

From *Wiener Caricaturen* (Vienna, Austria)



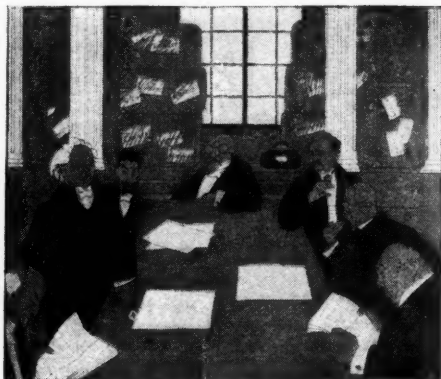
THE MEISTERSINGER OF WASHINGTON
HARDING: "Well, it's hardly harmony."

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)



HOW THE NATIONS ARRIVED FOR THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE—AND HOW THEY DEPARTED FOR HOME

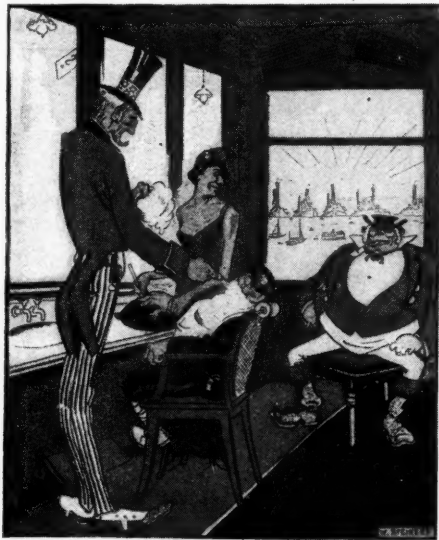
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



WORLD PROBLEMS CONFERENCE

"Gentlemen, we shall never agree on this question. There is only one solution. We disperse, inform the world that we are agreed on all points and then call a conference in another place."

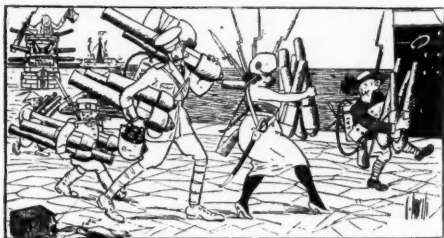
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



THE BARBER SHOP IN THE PACIFIC

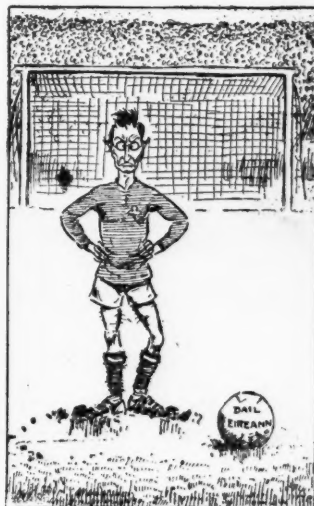
(The Japanese sought for long a cheap barber—whom he finally found in the United States, by whom he is shaved and manicured free of charge)

From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)





MOTHER ERIN: "ARRAH! IT'S FOR THE MOON YE ARE CRYIN'.
AVICK! TAKE YOUR CAKE AN' ATE IT!"
From *News of the World* (London, England)



DE VALERA'S DECISION
"If I can't be President, Captain and
Referee, I ain't going to play."
From the *Mail* (Birmingham, England)



GEORGE WASHINGTON DE VALERA
"I saw a chance to fell the tree,
And so I thought I'd snatch it.
I did my best, but now I see,
I've got too small a hatchet."
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London, England)



THE LAST STRAW
MR. BULL: "This is more than Parnell or Redmond
ever asked for!"
DE VALERA: "The tyrant would rob us even of our
grievances!"
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)
Mar.—3



THE GENERAL ELECTION FARCE
CHORUS OF MANAGERS (to Premier Lloyd George):
"You can't go on yet—it's not your cue!"
IRREFRESSIBLE DAVID: "Don't bother me about cues!
I'll go on when I'm ready!"
From the *Passing Show* (London, England)



© Ewing Galloway

ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN ROME, WITH THE PAPAL RESIDENCE IN THE CENTRAL BACKGROUND, OVERLOOKING THE GREAT COLONNADE

THE NEW POPE AND THE WORLD

BY MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

[Dr. Egan, who has long been eminent as an American scholar, editor, university teacher, and diplomatist in Europe, is a Catholic layman who writes with exceptional knowledge on the Papacy in its relation to the Italian Government and in its wider affairs. With the approach of the world conference at Genoa, the better understanding between Quirinal and Vatican obtains an importance that is recognized everywhere.—THE EDITOR.]

THE newly elected Pope, Pius XI, enters a new world. It is true that he has had some training in diplomacy; but he has had a greater training in the things of the mind. Probably if there is one thing he delights in, outside of books, it is the practice of mountain-climbing. Unless a *rapprochement* takes place between the Vatican and the Quirinal, he will long in vain for mountains to climb, for he is at present technically a prisoner in his own palace.

The period that began for the Papacy in 1870, when the troops of the King of Sardinia broke through the Porta Pia and took possession of the city of Rome, has passed. It was predicted then that the loss of the temporal power of the Pope would mean a tremendous loss to the Church and to the Catholics of the world. It was not well understood outside of Catholic circles that the temporal power was never looked on as a necessity to the permanence and growth of a church whose essential existence depended entirely on its spiritual qualities; but, while the loss of the territories of the Papacy outside of Rome was an advantage to the Popes, that of Rome itself broke their traditions and rendered their position less independent. The crux of the present situation of the Pope is this very question of independence.

It is probable that if the former possessions of the Popes in France, which were absorbed at the time of the French Revolution, and the territories which they held during the Renaissance, were offered to them, they would find themselves greatly embarrassed; but, as the Pope was acknowledged by the powers, including Italy, as an independent sovereign, it is considered necessary that, in addition to the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Castel Gandolfo, he should have St. Peter's, space enough for necessary ecclesiastical buildings, absolute liberty of intercourse with the nations of the earth, and entire freedom from the jurisdiction of any government. In a phrase, a territorial position somewhat similar to that occupied by the District of Columbia ought to be his.

Catholics have no intention whatever of proposing or of demanding that the city of Rome should be returned to the Pope; in spite of the dislike of Italy for the term "international," where the Papacy is concerned, there is an international question. Cavour himself so recognized it in 1870, and the sanction which Count Corti endeavored to obtain for the Italian occupation of Rome was not granted at the Congress of Berlin.

Arrangements which ought to have settled the Roman question before the "spoliation" of 1870 might have been made; but Pius IX was influenced by extremists as bigoted as the Radical advisers of King Victor Emanuel. The King himself would have preferred Florence as the capital of Italy; indeed, he was never quite sure that he had not committed sacrilege, and that some dreadful blow might not fall from heaven upon him! There were Catholics, of the type called Ultramontanes, who seemed really to believe that when Christ had appointed St. Peter as the rock on which the church was to stand, He had tacitly included the temporal gift of Constantine as part of the spiritual heritage. On the other side there was the *montagnard enragé*; whose fight was not against the church in particular, but against it as a symbol of Christianity.

Catholics everywhere had begun to admit, with Dante, that the possession of any temporal estate, municipal, local, or territorial, which implied secular activities, was a detriment to the spiritual influence of the Church. This belief has been steadily growing. When Pius IX said "*non possumus*" to all negotiations proposed for the diminution of the territory of the Church, he showed himself as a part of that old world which has



From the Times, New York

POPE PIUS XI, ELECTED BY THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS ON FEBRUARY 6

(The new Pope was Cardinal Achille Ratti, Archbishop of Milan. He is sixty-four years old, and had been a Cardinal less than a year)

disappeared, and the disappearance of which the late Pope acknowledged and the present Pope will acknowledge.

The principles and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church never change; but its policies change with the times. When, during the war, the Germans tried to use the Vatican by promising that in case of a German victory the Roman question would be rudely settled as against the Italian Government, Cardinal Gasparri officially wrote, "not by foreign arms but by the triumph of those sentiments of justice which the Holy See hopes will spread more and more among the Italian people in conformity with their true interests."

The present King of Italy is very much in favor of a reasonable arrangement. It has never been well understood in the United States or England that a man might be a devout Catholic without accepting the necessity of the temporal power of the Papacy. The late Pope, Benedict XV, was gracious to the amiable overtures of the Italian Government. The horrible disaster at Caporetto drew all Italy together. As a great official



THE LATE POPE BENEDICT XV

(From an autographed photograph presented to Bishop Dunn, of New York)

of the Italian Government wrote to me, in Copenhagen, after that disaster: "All Italy is united at last!" A great step forward was made when Pope Benedict XV permitted the visits of sovereigns who had acknowledged the existence of the King of Italy by making official calls at the Quirinal, without the annoying ceremonies which had formerly preceded such visits. The King of Spain and the King of the Belgians may now, while in Rome, treat the Pope and the King as equally sovereign.

The King of Italy is on excellent terms with the Pope. "I am a good Catholic," he once said. "I see the difficulty that comes to Italy and to the world from the Pope's unusual position; but one must consider the political difficulties." And one must admit that political difficulties have not been entirely on the side of the Quirinal, though a more sectarian, destructive and bolshevist group of detrimentals does not exist anywhere more destructively than on the fringe of the Italian electorate. The Ultramon- tanes have learned their lesson; they have learned, too, that the mixture of religion and politics, which was so detrimental to the interest of the Catholic Church in France—at one time a Catholic was looked on as worthy of excommunication, if he did not love the Bourbons!—is absolutely impossible to-day. That great statesman, Leo XIII, made it so; and Cardinal Ratti, now Pope Pius XI, finally realizes this; but although he and the Italian Government are anxious to come to terms, the details of the arrangements are still unsettled.

The Pope himself does not settle questions of diplomatic policy alone; he always consults his Cabinet—the *curia*—and very seldom makes a merely personal decision. It would seem improbable that any cultivated person to-day believes for a moment that the Pope is accepted as infallible in all his decisions—the doctrine of his infallibility applying only to *dicta* in matters of faith and morals, the principles of which have been already accepted; yet this hazy conception of the Pope's prerogatives still exists in some quarters. I cannot help recalling an instance where a lady, a guest at the White House at luncheon, asked the late Cardinal Gibbons whether he really believed that the Pope was infallible in all he said. The Cardinal smiled and answered: "I can only respond to that, Madame, by saying that when the Pope bade me good-by the last time, he said, 'Addio, Cardinale Jibbones!'"

Another great question which will probably occupy Pius XI is the understanding as to a reunion with the Greek Orthodox Church. Russia has hitherto been the implacable enemy of Rome; the Russian Church was essentially a state church; but now that state and church have separated, there is a party in Russia, including one of the most important of the Patriarchs, anxious to join the Roman Catholic Church as the most stable organization ecclesiastically in the world. The question of the celibacy of the clergy would not be an invincible barrier. It did not prove to be so in the case of the Lithuanians and other schismatics; and the monastic orders, in the Russian Church, are solemnly vowed to celibacy.

The diplomatic position of the Vatican has been much strengthened by the results of the war. Great Britain, which broke off relations with Rome in the reign of Henry VIII, and never resumed them until she sent Sir Henry Howard and Count Salis to represent her diplomatically at the Vatican.

In fact, there is no nation in the world; that is, no great nation, except our own, which does not contemplate the resumption of diplomatic relations. These relations have nothing whatever to do with the religious point of view of the countries sending envoys. It is merely a matter of expediency—an expediency which the war has made very plain. Nobody imagines, for instance, that M. Briand, and still less M. Viviani, was actuated by religious predilections when he supported the motion to interchange an Ambassador from France for a Nuncio from the Vatican.

Pius X was purely an ecclesiastical Pope. He is looked on to-day by Catholics as having greatly increased spiritual fervor in the Church; Benedict XV saw the opportunity for the restoration of Roman diplomacy, which had for a time failed in nearly every respect; and Pius XI, in accepting so cordially the results of the Conference at Washington, has ranged himself, as Beaconsfield once put it, "on the side of the angels," where every Pope ought to be.

As to diplomatic relations with the United States there is no indication that the Vatican desires them; and there is no sign on the part of either the Catholics or non-Catholics in the United States that they would be considered desirable, for, since the Philippine matter has been settled, there is no religious-political question in which the Vatican is concerned of any domestic interest to us.

WHAT WAS GAINED AT WASHINGTON

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. A SUCCESSFUL ENDING

SINCE I closed my last article the Washington Conference has ended its sessions. After weeks of delay, of debate, and of some disappointment, the final public sessions were marked by a degree of success and by a measure of public applause and approval which recalled not a little of the enthusiasm of the first days.

What, then, shall we say of the service and of the achievement of the first conference of great powers held on American soil? Before turning to an examination of the larger aspects of the Washington decisions, I shall try to discuss briefly the specific questions and the settlement which was reached in each.

A month ago I discussed the Four Power Treaty, which was the first of the agreements to be reached. Since that time the only change to be noted in this undertaking, which, as I pointed out, represented the political settlement which necessarily preceded the limitation of armaments, has been the signing of a protocol between the four nations signatory to the original treaty. This protocol excludes from its purview the main islands of Japan. This agreement, foreshadowed on all sides, eliminates an objection which threatened to render difficult the progress of the treaty through the United States Senate.

Thus amended, the Four Power Pact provides for peace in the Pacific, guaranteed by a mutual pledge of all the signatory powers to respect the integrity of the territory of each, and in case of difference between the signatory nations to confer. In the case of difficulties between a signatory power and a non-signatory nation the four powers are to exchange notes as among the four, explaining the situation and looking to a common policy.

With the ratification of this Four Power Treaty, then, there will disappear any real cause or opportunity for war between the four great sea powers in the Pacific. Ar-

rangements have also been made for separate agreements between the signatory powers and Holland to extend to the Dutch East Indian possessions that same guarantee of protection and recognition of integrity which the Four Power Treaty bestows upon the signatory nations. This agreement removes one of the gravest criticisms leveled at the Four Power Treaty, and it is an act of signal justice to Holland, whose participation in the Conference was distinguished, and whose interests in the region of the Pacific, at least on the material side, are more considerable than those of any other Western nation.

In sum, then, we have as a result of the Four Power Treaty and the extension of this Treaty to the Dutch East Indies a solid basis for peace between Japan, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. It is inconceivable hereafter during the life of the Treaty that any difference of opinion or conflict of interests can lead to war. A regional agreement has been made, satisfactory and honorable to all concerned, entered into in full peace, representing no infringements of the rights or alienation of the territories of any signatory nation, which must hereafter serve as a model for all regional agreements.

That this Four Power Treaty will be opposed in the United States Senate has already been made clear. The opposition, however, must now be confined to a single circumstance. The fact that Siberia, which means Russia, and China have been excluded from membership in this new association of nations, and the further fact that Japanese occupation of Chinese and Russian territory has not been terminated, make possible future conflict. That the United States should enter into a special agreement with one of the parties to a possible conflict in the future while the others are excluded, will be regretted on all sides and may supply a basis for attack upon the Treaty.

For myself, I believe the objections can

be met by such a reservation as the United States sought to append to Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. In so far as the Treaty carries with it no other obligation than to discuss possible causes of conflict and no commitment, moral or otherwise, to support Japan against China or against Russia, its other purposes and possibilities recommend it. No one can fail to perceive that at the moment the condition of China and the condition of Russia make it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory agreement with the other two potential great powers of the Pacific. On the other hand, nothing is more certain than that the sentiment of the people of the United States would favor the inclusion of China and Russia in the Pacific agreement precisely as soon as either of these countries should regain political unity and order.

Until that time arrives it is plain that the Pacific Agreement, while insuring peace between the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Holland, does not and cannot insure peace between Japan and China or Russia. Therefore, the Washington Conference, for reasons which are perfectly obvious, has been unable to establish a rule of peace covering all the shores of the Pacific. The limitation was imposed by the circumstances. Provided that the American position is made clear by a reservation only good and no harm can come from the Treaty. But it is essential to recognize that peace in the Pacific will ultimately depend upon the policy pursued by Japan toward China and toward Russia, and the fulfilment of pledges made here, while the Japanese policy will in no small degree be influenced by the success or failure of the Chinese and Russian people in reestablishing order and regaining stability by their own efforts.

II. THE NAVAL AGREEMENT

As was logical and natural, the Four Power Treaty, directed at the political conditions in the Pacific, was supplemented by a naval treaty signed by the five great sea powers of the world. This treaty does two things: It establishes for fifteen years a standard of strength in capital ships as between the five signatory powers. In addition it insures that ten-years' naval holiday which was predicted in Mr. Hughes' opening proposal. At the end of the fifteen years the strength of the five powers in capital

ships will be represented by the ratio 5-5-3-1.75-1.75, for Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy, respectively. In addition, while no limitation has been fixed upon the number of auxiliary ships, their tonnage has been restricted to 10,000 and the caliber of their guns to eight inches. As to submarines, no limit in tonnage has been agreed upon, but international law has been reaffirmed and the law respecting the use of submarines now stands as it stood before Germany destroyed it, and the same is true approximately in the matter of poison gas.

Accompanying the agreement covering naval tonnage are those other agreements dealing with fortifications in the Pacific. Japan, in consenting to accept with minor changes the original program of Mr. Hughes in the matter of capital tonnage, has insisted that the United States should agree not to extend the fortifications of the Philippines, and not to begin land works in Guam, in Samoa, in the Aleutian Islands, nor in any other Pacific possession of ours with the exception of the Hawaiian Islands.

Translated into terms of naval strategy, this means that the Japanese have asked the United States to refrain from the fortification of precisely those islands which might serve as bases for a fleet operating against the Japanese homeland. Since all of these islands are covered by the political agreement in the Four Power Treaty no occasion for fortifying them exists. Japan, on her part, has agreed not to extend the fortifications which she has in her own islands, of which the Kurile, the Bonin, the Pescadores and Formosa are the most considerable. Great Britain, on her part, has similarly agreed not to fortify Hongkong further.

It will be seen that the United States has made by all odds the largest sacrifice in the matter of non-fortification, as she did in the matter of the scrapping of new and old tonnage. Surprise has been and doubtless will be expressed over the fact that the Aleutian Islands have been included in the area covered by the non-fortifying agreement. This was unexpected and represents a concession out of all proportion to any made by any other signatory power. It represents a sacrifice of sovereignty which could only be defended by complete satisfaction in the terms of the Four Power Treaty. Yet it remains true that the United States never has fortified the Aleutian Islands and that there is

no reason to believe that fortifications would have been erected during the period covered by the present treaty.

Criticism of the Five Power Treaty there will be, but such criticism it seems to me is, on the whole, idle. The fact is that the United States is seeking not war but peace in the Pacific. Our Pacific policy has been dominated by the necessity of protecting the Philippine Islands against possible aggression, and we can now say quite frankly that such aggression could only have come from Japan. If we were to defend the Philippine Islands it was essential that we should fortify Guam and expand the fortifications of Corregidor. But the Four Power Treaty has removed all possible menace and therefore all possible reason for fortifications.

We have retired our naval frontier behind the Hawaiian Islands, but before doing this we have entered into solemn engagements with all the Pacific powers, which constitute a guarantee for our islands at least as strong as any which could be found in the few fortifications Congress would be likely to permit in the near future. Actually our insular dominions west of Hawaii are indefensible. The choice the United States had was between expending vast sums to make them defensible and negotiating precisely the kind of treaty we have negotiated. It seems to me that no one can question the fact that we have chosen the wiser way and have obtained at the price of sacrifices which are not incommensurate greater security than could have been obtained in any other way.

III. CHINA AND SIBERIA

A month ago I refrained from any comment on the work of the Conference with respect to the mainland of Asia. It remains, therefore, now to deal briefly both with the question of Siberia and that of China.

As to Siberia, it would be idle to pretend that any settlement has been reached at Washington. In advance of a discussion of this subject, there came from Tokio a definite statement, made by Baron Uchida, that Japan would not discuss in Washington the date or conditions for the evacuation of Siberia. This declaration of policy was carried out to the letter in the subsequent days. It follows, therefore, that Siberia remains for the future.

The limit of attainment and of possible attainment was touched when Baron Kato and Mr. Shidahara renewed in the most

solemn manner the pledges that Japan would retire from Siberia at the moment when such retirement would not risk the lives or property of Japanese nationals. Beside this declaration in the Washington Conference was placed the statement of the American Secretary of State indicating what American policy had been and still was with respect of Siberia.

Patently this was the sum total that could be achieved, since Japan was not prepared to retire and the United States was bound in the nature of things to accept the formal and categorical assurance of Japan. It is clear that if Japan does not retire, sooner or later we shall see war in the Far East, and that war will follow logically the reintegration of Russia. Japan remains in Siberia under pledge to quit. As long as she stays no one can regard the Far Eastern question as settled or believe that in this respect the Washington Conference has done more than state without modifying an unsatisfactory condition.

The same remains true in the matter of Manchuria. Japan has avoided a discussion of her occupation of the Manchurian territory acquired from Russia. She has agreed to certain modifications with respect of certain portions of Manchuria, such as permitting the investment of foreign capital and the waiving of exclusive commercial privileges. But she has not in any degree consented to weaken her hold upon the great Manchurian Province. Here, then, too, the Washington Conference has necessarily failed to produce satisfactory results. It has failed because Japan was neither willing nor ready to evacuate.

Precisely the same position was taken by Mr. Balfour for Great Britain in the matter of Kowloon, which is the mainland shore facing Hongkong. The declaration of Mr. Balfour, on December 3, that Great Britain felt it necessary to retain this territory foreshadowed a similar statement by Japan in regard to Manchuria, and destroyed all hope of complete evacuation of the mainland of China by foreign nations. By contrast, Great Britain has agreed to evacuate Weihai-wei forthwith, and France has promised to begin negotiations at once for a similar retirement from Kwang-chau-wan.

Territorially speaking, the great gain for China is in the Shantung agreement. After more than thirty sessions, after delays which were exasperating and deadlocks which at

moments seemed hopeless, China and Japan in direct conversations, through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, and finally by the intervention of the President of the United States himself, arrived at a basis of settlement.

By the terms of the Shantung settlement the territory returns immediately to China. Evacuation by Japanese troops must be completed within six months. China is permitted under reasonable terms to acquire ownership of the Shantung Railway and to operate it, while Japan retains only two highly placed officials—an assistant traffic manager and a financial accountant, and these only for the period of time during which Chinese payments are completed in accordance with the stipulated terms.

It will be seen that Japan still retains a string on the Shantung Railway. She has not completely separated herself from the power to interfere and time must elapse before the completion of her evacuation. This Shantung settlement depends in the last analysis upon Japanese good faith and upon the preservation of order in China. A little more generosity on the Japanese part would have contributed much to a heightening of the prestige of Japan with the Western nations, but on the other hand, provided the terms that have been agreed upon are exactly carried out, China's benefit will assuredly be very great.

A Shantung settlement was the irreducible minimum which the American delegation had to obtain on behalf of China to satisfy public sentiment and the political situation in the United States. This fact was demonstrated by the unmistakable restiveness in the Senate over the long delays in the Shantung discussions. The fact that China and Japan did ultimately agree, that the agreement was marked with considerable friendliness, probably, eliminates Shantung as a political issue in the United States and closes a somewhat inglorious chapter opened three years ago in Paris.

In addition to the territorial agreement there were many declarations of policy on behalf of the Western powers represented in the four Root principles which were designed to establish the Open Door in China. All the signatory powers resigned all policies involving special political or economic privileges for the future. It was regretted that the effort to provide for a review of privileges in the past was blocked, leaving many

long-standing abuses without practicable remedy.

But from the beginning to the end, the Washington Conference was hampered by the fact that China herself, like Siberia for that matter, was in a state of disorder. There were conflicting factions, even opposing governments. China was ably represented in the men who came here, but there was grave question as to what they actually did represent so far as China itself was concerned. For a united, orderly China, Mr. Hughes and his American associates might have been able to do much more, but that they were hampered by the Chinese facts no one can question. That they did sincerely, loyally and laboriously endeavor to aid China cannot be denied.

Fundamentally it is necessary to recognize that the Far Eastern part of the work of the Conference was actually and necessarily the least satisfactory. If all resolutions, declarations and agreements embodied in several treaties and affirmations should be translated into fact no one can mistake that a new and better time would be insured in the Far East and the dangers of war would be abolished. But in point of fact practically every nation in the Far East has already made and broken pledges as solemn as those to be found in the Washington harvest. China remains weak, and Chinese weakness, unless it shall be remedied, will not only be a temptation to aggression, but may even necessitate intervention. The United States was not prepared to undertake the rôle of protector of China, with the moral certainty of war in the future. China itself was and remains incapable of fulfilling the most elementary duties of an independent state.

Two things are still essential to the stabilizing of conditions in the Far East. The first is the return of China to order; the second is the complete renunciation by Japan of a policy of aggression on the mainland of Asia. Neither condition was open to decisive treatment at Washington. The effect of our various treaties, as I have pointed out, is to eliminate us as a naval and military force in the Western Pacific. Henceforth we could not if we would interfere on behalf of China by force. But one may doubt whether the United States ever had the smallest intention of taking such a course, and it is after all wiser to get down to realities in all our international relations.

Many months ago, in advance of the

Washington Conference, I told my readers here that we were drifting toward a war with Japan; that we were undertaking almost unconsciously the task of restraining Japanese expansion on the mainland of Asia and adopting toward Japan a policy which when followed by Great Britain in the case of Germany led inevitably to the World War. It was clear then that the United States did not want such a war; it was plain that we should come to it without purpose and without foresight.

Now, as a result of the agreements signed here, we have done what we could for China, and we have demonstrated to Japan an entire absence of any purpose by force to interfere with her policies, even when these policies conflict with our own conceptions of right and of justice. As a result of the present Conference Japan is left with hands free to deal as she will with the mainland of Asia. While her fleet is inferior to ours, renunciation by us of the right to fortify Guam and the Philippines deprives us of the power to employ our superior naval strength in Japanese or Chinese waters.

But short of a long, expensive, and perhaps indecisive war, no other course was possible, and Mr. Hughes correctly interpreted the sentiment of the country as totally opposed to undertaking any mission to regulate Asiatic affairs. In the long run Japan will have to change her recent policy with respect of China and of Russia or fight both of those countries. If she does not change her policy, she will steadily lose prestige and respect among the Western nations.

To-day as a partner of the United States, Great Britain and France, in the Four Power Entente made in Washington, Japan has increased very greatly her position in the world. The recognition she received as an ally of Great Britain has been expanded into a recognition by the three great nations of the West. The success of the Washington Conference diplomatically and strategically speaking is Japanese. There remains now the question of which direction Japanese policy will take. Here is the question of war or of peace for the future in Asia. But in such a war as may result we shall not be entangled. The most that the Washington Conference could do was to lay down a basis of peace and justice in the Far East. Substantially that it has done. For the rest, it is for the Japanese people to decide what course to take.

IV. SUMMING IT UP

I come now to a final question on which it seems to me necessary to be very clear. One heard and one hears much about the fact that success in Washington marks a new method and opens a new era. For wars, conferences are to be substituted; and rule of reason is to replace the rule of the sword. Yet it is essential to note at once how precise were the limits of the success in Washington, and how unmistakable the explanation for that success.

We had, at the moment when President Harding called the Conference, an abnormal situation in the world. Three great naval powers were stolidly building ships for which there was no explanation in the policies of the three countries, and the building programs were staggering burdens to all three countries. They promised bankruptcy for Japan, ultimate loss of equality at sea for Britain and made undesired supremacy inevitable for the United States at an incredible price.

British policy did not contemplate any aggression against the United States, nor did Japanese. The United States had not the smallest idea of attacking Britain or Japan, which were allies and thus without reason to fear each other and without temptation to compete in naval construction.

We had still another striking and peculiar situation. The battleship had long been the standard of sea strength. But our own Admirals Sims and Fiske; the British naval authority, Sir Percy Scott, who had guessed right about the submarine before the World War, and Admiral De Bon of the French Navy all agreed that the day of the battleship was over. The best experts in all navies were of the opinion that money put into battleships was wasted, even from the point of view of war strength, as a consequence of the development of aircraft and possible expansion of submarine warfare.

Now the fusion of all these reasons explained the success of the Hughes program in naval limitation. But they were all unusual reasons. I mean by that, reasons which existed with respect of a single engine of warfare. The proof lies in the fact that when the conference passed from battleship to submarine, agreement disappeared. Britain wanted to abolish, America to limit. France was willing to limit, but asked the maximum allotment granted any nation, while Italy,

wanting submarines but not claiming the maximum, felt called upon to demand equality with France. As a result we had deadlock and failure both as to submarines and as to those auxiliary cruisers which are the defensive answer to submarines.

The same was true in another field, namely, land armaments. Here France as the supreme land power confronted the conference with the declaration that her people saw the question in one way, and had based their land strength upon this view. As a consequence, land armaments were dropped from the discussion of limitation of armaments.

Now it follows, quite logically, both from the successes and the failures of the Washington Conference that it is not correct to conclude that there is a new spirit abroad in the world or a new era at hand. Both may be facts, but there is nothing in the evidence to show that either exists. A conference between Britain and Germany on naval limitation before the war would not have changed the situation which survived the futile efforts of Lord Haldane to promote a naval holiday in his visits to Berlin. A conference on land armaments would not have availed as between France and Germany while Alsace-Lorraine remained open.

The international conference is not a means to promote international amity between nations whose policies are in direct collision and whose publics are mutually hostile, suspicious and resentful. But when two or more nations make up their minds that they do not want war, that they have no reason to fear attack, when they are equally agreed that further competition in arms means bankruptcy or approximate bankruptcy, then a conference is an admirable place in which to achieve that general liquidation for which public opinion in all countries concerned is totally prepared.

It is putting the cart before the horse to seek appeasement in the conference. The stream will not mount higher than its source and, in this case the source is the public sentiment in each country concerned. Because the United States, Japan and Great Britain could agree in conference about capital ships and islands in the Pacific, it is not reasonable to argue that, in conference, France, Britain and Germany could agree about reparations or Britain, France and the United States about land armaments. In both cases there would have to be recognition in each country

in advance of the conference of the national advantage accruing from such agreement.

The really novel and striking thing about our Washington affair was the recognition by President Harding and his advisers that the moment had arrived when a conference could succeed, could register the agreement already discoverable in the public sentiments of the three great naval powers. The moment might have passed, the concord might have been changed by competition into actual rivalry. In seizing it the President rendered very real service.

Sometime, sooner or later, one must believe, a similar situation will develop in the matter of economic reconstruction in Europe. The pressure of industrial and financial events will bring German, Frenchman, Briton, Italian, Pole and perhaps American as well to a common ground. It may be hastened by agreements between conflicting nations. Then, and only then, the conference method will succeed, if someone acts as wisely and gauges the situation as accurately as did President Harding.

But he who advocates a conference must necessarily demonstrate that those who are to be invited share the views which must prevail, if there is to be any result attained. The Washington Conference did not persuade Japan or Great Britain to agree to naval limitation. They came prepared to join in limiting capital ships. And it could not persuade the French in the case of submarines because they came unprepared, because the national sentiment behind the French delegates was unprepared.

The conference, then, our own Washington Conference, was not a remedy, it was not a cure, but so far as it succeeded it was a sign of health. No national policy was changed or even modified by the Conference, but it was demonstrated just how much and how little national policies agreed. And it was useful in the extreme to know where the agreements lay and to turn them into solid advantage alike in money saving in the fortification of peace and in the elimination of perils not present but prospective. You will not promote peace between nations which are hostile by a conference, but a conference is an admirable place in which nations actually friendly can give proof of their friendliness—such proof as is registered in the limitation of armaments agreements made in Washington.

In sum, the Washington Conference suc-

ceeded in establishing relations between friendly nations on a permanent basis. Armament must invariably be accommodated to policy. If you have a purpose to carry out which involves collision with other nations, then you must arm yourself against those nations. If another country has obviously a purpose to attack you, you must then arm yourself against that attack. But if the policy of all naval powers is purely defensive then it is the simplest matter in the world to agree to restrict the number of offensive weapons. The Washington Conference was a final demonstration not of the way to insure peace between enemies, but to establish it between friends. It proved that wherever political adjustment is possible restraint of armament follows logically. The appeal to the land powers of Europe to disarm because the sea powers have agreed measurably to disarm at Washington, is illogical. What Europe must do is to seek those political adjustments such as the sea powers entered into in the Pacific; thereafter, demobilization, reduction of land forces and elimination of excessive expenses will follow naturally.

V. THE AFTERMATH

And now it remains briefly to turn to that European situation which I have been obliged to neglect in recent months because of the Washington Conference. At the moment when I closed my last article, Briand had fallen and Poincaré had returned to power. Those who remember the first Poincaré Ministry, following the Agadir Crisis a decade ago, will see many parallels between the present and the past accession of the French statesman, who in the interim has been President of the French Republic during the full period of the war and the years immediately following.

The coming of Poincaré has been variously interpreted, and Poincaré himself has been variously represented in the press of the world. It has been asserted that his arrival meant an intensification of French chauvinism, foreshadowed some extreme act in the case of Germany, and generally promised the postponement of the reconstruction of Europe. And in addition there have been many forecasts that Poincaré would remain in power but a brief time.

All of these assertions seem to me to rest upon an imperfect appreciation of the situa-

tion in France. Poincaré is a reasonably strong man, but, far from being a fire-eater, he is a methodical, rather slow, tenacious man, a typical product of the frontier Province of Lorraine. He represents French views as to all the political maneuvers of the past three years, and the French desire for a solid basis of agreement and adjustment both with Great Britain and with the rest of the world. France feels herself to have been worsted in a series of temporary bargains with Lloyd George, which, in fact, have settled nothing, but avoided clashes by postponing decisions.

Poincaré's mission avowedly is primarily to seek to put the foreign relations of France on a business basis. We have had in the Washington Conference a striking example of the discomfort, and worse, incident to Anglo-French disagreements. Had France and Great Britain been able to adjust their differences of opinion before they came to Washington, nothing is more certain than that we should have had complete accord, not alone in the matter of capital ships, but all the way down the line. The submarine controversy grew out of the fact that France desired, first, to know whether she had to confront the future as an ally of Great Britain or as an isolated nation. As an ally of Great Britain she would need few ships and fewer submarines. Isolated, her sole defense would be a submarine fleet.

Poincaré, in all his writings and in all his recent public utterances, so far from favoring a break with Great Britain, has steadily urged that Anglo-French affairs should be liquidated, that there should be a general settlement based upon exactly that kind of recognition of mutual interest which was disclosed in the 1904 adjustment following the Fashoda episode—an adjustment which gave France and Great Britain ten years of utmost friendliness and perfect coöperation.

But Poincaré believes that the foundation of Anglo-French friendship must be a fixed alliance, not a guarantee by Great Britain of French frontiers which would amount in fact to making France, in a measure, a British protectorate, and therefore place French foreign policy under the tutelage of Great Britain. After all, it is a fact that if it was the British navy which patrolled the seas for the Grand Alliance that defeated Germany, it was the French army which bore the brunt of the war from the earliest skirmish up to the opening of the Battle of the Somme in

July, 1916. If the British fleet guarded the lanes of sea communication by which France obtained the supplies and materials which made resistance possible, it was the French armies which held the Germans back from the English Channel and the Straits of Dover.

Poincaré, therefore, demands not a one-sided guarantee from Great Britain, but a treaty of alliance between equals. He asks that this alliance shall be extended, not for ten years—a period during which everyone knows Germany will be incapable of military action—but for a period of thirty years; that is, until a new generation shall arrive in Germany which has been educated in the recognition that a war of revenge upon France means a new conflict with Great Britain, a new destruction of Germany's seaborne commerce, a repetition of the horrors of the blockade and the isolations of the World War.

It is quite obvious that such an alliance goes far beyond the present or the traditional policy of Great Britain. It may well be that it will take much time to persuade the British to march far along the path of Poincaré. But, on the other hand, one must recognize that the French position is infinitely stronger than that of the British because, while Britain has two millions unemployed, France has less than twenty thousand; and, second, whereas the restoration of the European markets of Germany and Russia, alike, is a matter of life and death to Britain, it is a matter of comparative indifference to France, who sells little, whose foreign trade is a relatively insignificant item, whose land suffices to feed its population.

To persuade France to agree to postponement of German reparations, to waive her unquestioned right to use her armies if Germany fails to comply with the agreement made last May in London, to enlist France in the great task of reconstruction in the economic sense in Europe, the British will obviously have to meet many of the French terms. Short of force, short of war which is unthinkable, Great Britain can neither coerce nor overpersuade France under the leadership of Poincaré.

At the moment that I write this article Anglo-French relations are obviously at a difficult stage. Lloyd George's proposal for an Anglo-French alliance, made to Briand, has been received coldly in the House of Commons. All efforts for a settlement of

Anglo-French difficulties in the Near East have broken down. The French attitude toward the Genoa Conference, which is a British project, is patently unsympathetic at present.

Yet it seems to me that in the long run nothing is more certain than that there will be an adjustment between Great Britain and France. It is a fact that there is no economic recovery conceivable for Great Britain until there is a new situation on the Continent of Europe. It is equally clear that France will consent to no change of policy in conformity with British interests until France is assured of security for the future. Therefore, although the path is likely to be difficult and we are destined to have many unpleasant moments, it seems to me that one can with reasonable confidence look forward to an eventful adjustment of Anglo-French relations.

VI. ALLIED DEBTS AND CONGRESS

In discussing European adjustments and reconstruction, moreover, one has to revert to the American phase. Congress has recently, in defiance of the wish of the President and without regard to the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, passed a bill dealing with allied debts and providing that they shall be repaid within a period of twenty-five years, and that during that time $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest shall be collected. The sum total of these debts now passes eleven billions of dollars. The British share amounts to approximately five billions.

In dealing with this question of the allied debts, one must see, first, how injurious has been the Anglo-French quarrel here in Washington. The action of Congress, which represents approximate futility, is a direct consequence of the uproar over the French army and the French submarine program, most of which had its origin in the declarations of the British press representatives here in Washington. Congress, eager for an excuse for proceeding not generously, but vigorously, in the matter of the foreign debts, has found therein its warrant, and has taken full advantage of the opportunity thus placed in its hands.

The fact, however, in the matter of the foreign debts is already pretty generally appreciated in the financial as well as the governmental circles of this country. Great Britain can and will pay the five billions

which she owes us. Roughly speaking, this means that she will begin promptly and pay us regularly more than \$300,000,000 annually for the next twenty-five years. But actually this enormous payment will be made by the increase in British exports to the United States and the decreases of British imports from the United States. The total British gold reserve would not suffice to pay more than two annual instalments. Moreover, we have recently had warning from the Federal Board of Reserve of the dangers incident to the already too great concentration of gold in the vaults of the United States treasury.

So far as the British are concerned, then, their payments will conceivably add immediately to our embarrassment in the matter of gold, and certainly for a long period of time reduce the amount of the sales of our products to the British Empire, as it will tend to increase the amount which we buy from Great Britain, thus adding to unemployment—already a serious evil—in the United States.

Now as to France, Italy, and Belgium, the fact is that no one of these countries can, or will, undertake to pay us except as Germany pays them. At the present time, as everyone knows, Germany cannot pay, and her European creditors are about to extend to her a period of grace. All that France, Belgium, or Italy can say to us is: "When Germany pays, we will pay." The French can also say, and doubtless will: "You see, we must keep our army. It is the only means of compelling the Germans to pay." Therefore, the effect of the course of the American Congress will be to give new arguments to the French for the maintenance of their armies as a means of collecting the German debt, and new reasons for using the army rather than permitting the German to have a period of postponement in making reparation under the treaty terms.

Here, again, the action of Congress means in the end the postponement of the recovery of the European market and, therefore, a further diminution in the American foreign trade. Because of the action of Congress the American farmer, cotton-grower, cattle-raiser, will find his market still further restricted, and the return of prosperity in the United States will be thereby still further delayed.

Had it not been for the unfortunate uproar over the submarine, my judgment is that

it might have been possible at least to have persuaded Congress to postpone the collection, or the attempt to collect, the European debts. It might have been possible for the United States Government to have cooperated in making the Genoa Conference immediately successful and a prompt aid to the restoration of the European markets. Thus, once more, as at Paris, it has been demonstrated that quarrels between European nations before an American audience are in the end disastrous to all participants. If the British were more successful than the French here in enlisting approval, it is no less true that the British are going to suffer materially more than the French, since the British will have to begin to pay the allied debts, while the French cannot, and therefore will not attempt anything of the kind.

The passage of a measure affecting the European debts has aroused a storm of indignation and protest in France. This was inevitable. France, unable to collect anything from Germany so far, sees herself at one time asked by the United States to display leniency in the matter of German reparations and display the last energy in the repayment of American loans. The suggestion made in some quarters that France discharge her obligation to us by ceding us her West Indian islands only adds to the sense of injury. These French islands are represented in the French Parliament; they are as much a part of France politically as a Department on the mainland of Europe. They could only be taken against the will of their inhabitants, and it seems incredible that the United States, which resolutely opposed the French desire to annex German territory, to annex the Sarre Basin to set off German devastations in the French coal regions, should in the same breath demand that France cede French citizens to repay American loans. It is a singularly unfortunate thing, moreover, that the Washington Conference, successful as it was in dealing with questions affecting the Pacific and those affecting the three great sea powers, should have led to the present profound misapprehension and coldness between the United States and France. Doubtless this will pass away, but in the meantime American effort to coerce the French, to use the power, or the imaginary power, of the creditor to influence the domestic policy of the debtor, can only lead to further bitterness and postpone real adjustment of the matters at issue.

VII. GENOA

As I close this article word comes from abroad of the probable postponement of the Genoa Conference until summer. The recent fall of the Italian Ministry, due in part at least to Italian disappointment over the results achieved by the Italian representatives in Washington, and in part, too, to Italian apprehension growing out of the invitation to Lenine to attend the Genoa Conference, in some degree explains the proposed postponement. But at bottom one must trace it to a reluctance on the part of France to enter into an international conference until there has been a preliminary adjustment of Franco-British differences.

On our side of the ocean there is no mistaking the opposition in Congress to American participation in an international conference now, and the widespread distaste in this country for any association with Lenine or with any representatives of the present Bolshevik government. Any real temptation, such as President Harding and his advisers might have found in the Italian invitation, is removed by the course of Congress in dealing with the allied loans. Once more, too, the Anglo-French quarrel over the submarine has served to embitter American opinion and create a prejudice against American participation in European affairs until Europe settles certain questions for itself—questions like those of reparations and land armaments.

Moreover, it is clear that the American position in any international conference will be weakened precisely as long as the treaties which we negotiated at the Washington Conference remain unratified. It is equally clear that arguments against ratification might not impossibly be deduced from what might happen if a Genoa Conference and a Senate debate were proceeding concomitantly. Europe, moreover, after its experience with the Senate in the matter of the Treaty of Versailles, will doubtless desire to know whether it is possible to negotiate a treaty with the United States and see that treaty subsequently ratified.

All things considered, one may say that whether there will be a Genoa Conference in March or not, the European situation and the American situation combine to warrant the forecast that little but preliminary work can be done there and that time is still required before Europe or the United States is ready for that general settlement which must

inevitably come and perhaps is nearer than anyone can see at the moment. If France and Great Britain were able in the next three months to adjust their differences, and the United States Senate in the meantime would have ratified the Washington Treaties, no one can mistake that the prospects of success for an international conference then would be far greater.

Looking at the European situation generally, it seems to me that one must detect everywhere signs of improvement. If the fiscal situation of many countries remains disturbed, the economic conditions are improving, that is to say, more people are working, more countries are becoming self-supporting in the matter of food, most of the larger political problems, like that of Upper Silesia, have been settled, there has been an enormous deflation of mistaken ideas about reparations, and there has been a very great reduction in the rivalries which grew out of super-heated nationalism, and were the striking circumstances of the Paris Conference.

All things considered and aside from the Russian conditions, which are due to special causes, the winter which is now drawing to a close has been marked by less disorder, less suffering and by a larger measure of "normalcy" than any winter since the outbreak of the war. It is true that everywhere the world is beginning to see that there is going to be no sudden or swift recovery from the effects of the war and the destructions and disturbances incident to it and consequent upon it. Yet there is sound reason for optimism when we contrast the conditions of the winter of 1921-22 with that of 1918-19. If a general international conference to stabilize economic and financial conditions still seems premature, one is bound after all to recognize that such a liquidation is now not far off. The Anglo-French bitterness of the moment, from its very intensity, forecasts an adjustment rather than continued hostility.

But once more I would remind my readers that political adjustments must precede economic, and we shall not demobilize armies or reduce military expenditures until we arrive at political understandings between interested nations, the world over. And we shall not restore markets, or relieve the present American depression, until the two great questions of reparations and allied debts are removed. Europe has already been partially educated in the matter of reparations. But for the existence of the allied debt question

one might expect to see the reparations reduced to limits which would represent the possible instead of the fantastic.

The recent action of Congress does, however, postpone this settlement. It will probably postpone the return of prosperity to the United States. Until the mass of the people in this country perceive that the present policy in the matter of allied debts prevents the reopening of European markets, continues to diminish the volume of our foreign

trade, means that the farmer must keep his grain, the planter his cotton, the stockmen their cattle, we are not likely to get extensive relief. The single advantage of the present Congressional experiment lies in the fact that it tends to clarify the situation. When the President appoints his commission to collect the allied debts and they set out upon their painful task, no one will have any further reason for failing to recognize the fundamental facts.

THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

BY RICHARD T. ELY

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS has already mentioned the National Agricultural Conference called by President Harding, which met in Washington during the five days January 23-27, and in advance of the meeting has suggested its great possibilities in determining policies of relief and reconstruction. The reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will now naturally want to know what was actually accomplished. Has the conference helped us forward in traveling the road to normalcy and prosperity?

I am very glad to respond to the request of the Editor, and state the impressions which I formed as a participant, giving careful attention to the proceedings and reviewing them in my mind subsequently in order to estimate properly the real significance of this gathering. A full report, which it is hoped will be published, would make a book of very respectable proportions, and in the two or three magazine pages allotted to me all that I can hope to do is to give the most outstanding features of the deliberations and resolutions.

High Character of the Personnel

First of all, attention should be called to the delegates in attendance, three hundred and thirty-six in number. They represented the great farm organizations of the country, the departments of agriculture in the various States, agricultural colleges and the agricultural press; also businesses closely connected with agriculture. There were also eighteen

women delegates to represent the home and any other special interests of women. In addition, a few economists and other scholars were individually invited. When looking upon the faces of these delegates, of representative American men and women, one could not help feeling optimistic not only about the future of the great basic industry of agriculture, but about the future of our country. Intelligence of the delegates and honesty of purpose impressed themselves on all observers.

Advance in Sound Thinking

To one who is familiar with the history of farmers' organizations and with the conventions and meetings of various sorts held during the past twenty to thirty years, the most outstanding feature of this conference is the progress that has been made in right feeling and sound thought. A conference such as this which has just been held would have been an impossibility ten years ago and even five years ago. The progress which has been made is beyond all question due mainly to general enlightenment, and this general enlightenment is the result of quiet, educational work that has been in progress during the past generation. It is a splendid vindication of those who have preached the doctrine that education is the essential, indispensable feature of Americanism.

The conference was dealing with economic questions, and in our agricultural colleges and universities no feature of their growth

has perhaps been so marked during recent years as the enlargement and enrichment of the departments of economics and the increase in the number of students taking this work. Twenty years ago economics was scarcely recognized in the agricultural colleges of the country; now it is probably without exception the most rapidly growing department in these colleges. A generation ago a Secretary of Agriculture said that he wanted no economics in the United States Department of Agriculture; whereas to-day Secretary Wallace has stated repeatedly that the various branches of economic research in the Department of Agriculture are felt by him to be at least equal in importance to any other work that is being carried on by this vast governmental agency.

Retirement of the "Freaks"

Next in importance to the improvements seen in the grasp of the economic questions involved, as shown especially in the resolutions adopted, we may mention the general display of manly courage in facing the future and good-will toward other social groups. To be sure, we heard the old-time oratory and exhortations to effect mighty combinations in order to smite the farmers' enemies "hip and thigh," to overthrow their evil machinations, and to press forward to achieve those things which would make the farmers prosperous, the implication being that there could be no doubt about measures which would restore prosperity, and that only selfish and evil-minded groups of powerful "interests" prevented the achievement of the desired ends. We heard the old familiar talk that the farmer does not fix his prices, while those with whom he deals fix their prices, and there were too many whose economics had not got beyond fallacies in that science corresponding to the ideas of perpetual motion in the realm of physics. The thing to be remembered is, however, that those who voiced these old-time views and sentiments were obviously a diminishing group. Their day belonged to the past.

Also we saw here and there that bird of prey, the demagogue in politics, attempting to capitalize for his own sinister ends the distress of the farmer, but he evidently failed to reap any considerable harvest from this conference.

The assertion has been made that the delegates to the conference were "hand-picked." In his remarks at the closing session of the conference, Secretary Wallace

referred to this unfounded allegation, and by an analysis of the delegations showed clearly that there had been a carefully selected representation of all groups of significance. The following is a quotation from the Secretary's remarks:

In the early hours of the conference I was told that here and there were whispers that this was a hand-picked conference. It was. And the figures I have just read to you, I think, prove it. It was not a hand-picked conference in the sense that there was any purpose to choose delegates with reference to their views. On the contrary, as your discussions here have revealed, you have delegates representing the widest divergence of views, and they have been extended the utmost freedom of debate. Extraordinary courtesy has been extended to men whose views have met with the strong disapproval of nine-tenths of the delegates.

The Conference as a Working Body

The work of the conference was assigned to the following twelve committees:

Agriculture and Price Relations—

Chairman: E. B. Cornwall, Vt.

Secretary: F. A. Pearson.

Agricultural Credit and Insurance—

Chairman: S. P. Houston, Mo.

Secretary: V. N. Valgren.

Transportation—

Chairman: H. J. Waters, Mo.

Secretary: Thos. H. McDonald.

Foreign Competition and Demand—

Chairman: Harvey J. Sconce, Ill.

Secretary: W. F. Callander.

Costs, Prices and Readjustments—

Chairman: H. L. Russell, Wis.

Secretary: E. G. Nourse.

Crop and Market Statistics—

Chairman: C. S. Barrett, Ga.

Secretary: L. M. Estabrook.

Marketing of Farm Products—

Chairman: G. Harold Powell, Calif.

Secretary: Asher Hobson.

Agricultural Research and Education—

Chairman: O. E. Bradfute, Ohio.

Secretary: K. F. Kellerman.

A National Forest Policy—

Chairman: Gifford Pinchot, Penn.

Secretary: Raphael Zon.

National Land Policies—

Chairman: R. A. Pearson, Iowa.

Secretary: B. H. Hibbard.

Farm Population and Farm Home—

Chairman: S. J. Lowell, N. Y.

Secretary: C. J. Galpin.

Coördination of State and Federal Legislation—

Chairman: E. S. Prigham, Vt.

Secretary: Chester Morrill.

The resolutions adopted by the committees were framed with reference to the present distress and measures to alleviate this, and, second, to the more permanent policies for the years to come. It was generally recog-

nized that the present distress will happily soon be a thing belonging to history, and permanent policies to bring about improvement in the future received far more attention.

President Harding's Recommendations Generally Accepted

President Harding opened the conference with an impressive address, which met with sincere applause and which, in the discussions of groups during the conference, was referred to with warm approval. President Harding made several recommendations in his address and these were considered by the twelve committees of the conference. Each committee made a report containing resolutions and these were in general harmony with the recommendations of the President. The following is a survey of the recommendations of the various committees:

Recommendations for Congressional Action:

- Investigate plans for stabilization of dollar—Com. 1.
- Provide short time agricultural credit—Com. 2.
- Continue War Finance Corporation if necessary—Com. 2.
- Amend Federal Reserve Act providing agricultural representative—Com. 2.
- Investigate Crop Insurance—Com. 2.
- Prohibit tax-free securities' except farm loan bonds—Com. 2.
- Repeal of Section 15a of Interstate Commerce Act—Com. 3.
- Restore powers state railway commissions—Com. 3.
- Provide for completion of Muscle Shoals project—Com. 3.
- Provide for development of St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway—Com. 3.
- Retain tolls on Panama Canal—Com. 3.
- Urge continued Federal aid for highways—Com. 3.
- Adequate support of International Institute of Agriculture at Rome—Com. 4.
- Amend the Webb-Pomerene Act on export trade—Com. 4.
- Recommends tariff adjustment board and tariff legislation permitting adjustment of rates within limitations—Com. 4.
- Provide for agricultural attachés abroad—Com. 4.
- Enactment coöperative legislation—Com. 7.
- Legislation on price statements by coöperative associations—Com. 7.
- Federal cold storage legislation—Com. 7.
- Credit for warehouse certificates—Com. 7.
- Legislation to prevent destruction of forests, fire protection on private and public lands, increase of forest acreage—Com. 9.
- Establish national land commission to classify land, providing for protection of settlers, intelligent development as present acute conditions are adjusted—Com. 10.
- Commends health conservation for rural people—Com. 11.
- Provision for circulating libraries; instruction Mar.—4

in coöperation in schools; expansion of extension work among farm homes—Com. 11.

Coöperation in administration between State and Federal Government of regulatory laws—Com. 12.

Recommends discontinuance of free seed distribution—Com. 12.

Recommendations to Farmers

Continue to reduce overhead expenses by efficiency in crop production—Com. 3.

Urge diversification—Com. 3.

Adjust farm operations to market demands—Com. 5.

Organization of farmers strongly emphasized.

Recommendations to President

Establish a national agricultural council—Com. 12.

Readjustments

No national prosperity until both wages and capital bear just share in readjustment—Com. 5.

Congress and the President take steps to immediately reestablish a fair exchange value for all farm products with that of all other commodities—Com. 7.

Expansion of support in work of research education and extension facilities—Com. 8.

Expansion of Agriculture Department

Agricultural census every five years—Com. 6.

Expansion of crop reporting service to include livestock and greater details on crops, etc.—Com. 6.

More statistics on market, stocks, and movement—Com. 6.

Studies on cost of marketing—Com. 7.

Emphasis on Forestry

Evidently in each committee there must have been one or more men wise as Socrates was wise; in other words, they had the beginning of wisdom with fruitful promise for the future, because they recognized their own ignorance. What was most impressive in all the resolutions is the educational program. Again and again the thought is expressed that we need light, ever more light, and diffusion of light. Nothing could be more hopeful than this emphasis upon research and the demand that the results of research should be made available, and available quickly. While some demands, wholly or partially unsound, were made, they were relatively of small importance in the entire program as endorsed in the resolutions; and past progress gives us every reason to hope that when another conference is held these will be mostly eliminated. The day of formulas and panaceas evidently belongs to the past. We live in a very complex world and we need accurate knowledge as a result of careful, scientific work along every line of activity.

It is hard to select for special treatment

any recommendations out of the many that were made. Only one or two may be mentioned in this article, which has already gone beyond the assigned limits. Gifford Pinchot's plea for forestry was one of the impressive features of the conference, and the resolutions of the committee on a National Forest Policy were entirely sound. The result cannot fail to awaken the farmers to a greater extent than heretofore to the significance of forestry as a feature of our national life. It may also be mentioned that Mr. Pinchot's protest against changing the location of the work in forestry so as to take it out of the Department of Agriculture received enthusiastic applause. Evidently the conference supported the fact that forestry is agriculture and that in the long run a forest is simply one of many agricultural crops.

Opposed to Price-Fixing

The conference very evidently disapproved of the proposed transfer of the Bureau of Markets from the Department of Agriculture to another department, feeling that the work of the Bureau of Markets was first of all an affair of agriculture. Price-fixing met with little encouragement and the emphatic statement that it could never make the farmer prosperous was warmly applauded, as well as the presentation of the view that the printing press could not supply the farmer with credit; that on the contrary the lowest rates of interest had been found only where thrift had been practised and where there was confidence in the faith-keeping of government, while every breath of suspicion in regard to repayment in cheap money raised the farmer's rate of interest.

Especially noteworthy was the attitude with respect to the wage-earner and his wages. While there was most evident sympathy with the wage-earner it was obviously the opinion of the conference that in the interests of the wage-earner, as of all others, there must be a readjustment of wages and that in some cases they were out of adjustment with general conditions and would have to be lowered as a condition to restore prosperity.

Coöperation was emphasized and the demand was made that all legal obstacles to

proper farmers' combinations be removed. As nearly as I can gather, the best thought of the conference was that farmers' combinations are indispensable if the farmer is to be prosperous and to have a prosperity in which all may participate. On the other hand, it is recognized that farmers' combinations, as well as others, may under certain circumstances and in certain places be guilty of anti-social practices. Consequently it is coming to be conceded that there should be some social control of these combinations, as of all others. Probably the outcome is that legal obstacles to coöperation through combination will be removed, but that these combinations will have to operate under general supervision of the Department of Agriculture, or other agencies representing impartially general, social interests.

Service of the Department of Agriculture

The country is under great debt of gratitude to President Harding for calling this conference, to Secretary Wallace for the initiative which he took, and to Congressman Sidney Anderson, chairman of the conference, under whose leadership the work of the Congressional Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry has been conducted. One other name should be mentioned, however. Secretary Wallace spoke about the devotion of various members of his staff and mentioned one name. This article may be well closed with the following quotation from Secretary Wallace's remarks at the concluding session of the National Agricultural Conference:

Now, just one further word. Something has been said of the service of the Department of Agriculture. We have been glad for the opportunity to render that service. I want to say to you that there is a group of devoted men in the Department of Agriculture who are all too little known, and all too little appreciated by the country at large. They are men thoroughly devoted, you might almost say consecrated, to the service of the farmers of this country and to the service of the nation at large. And let me say, in speaking of those who contributed to the making of a success of this great conference, that the omission of the name of Dr. H. C. Taylor would be an injustice for which we could not forgive ourselves. Much of the credit for the preliminary arrangements and the orderly way in which they were carried out belongs to him.



LORD BRYCE: BRITISH SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN

BY P. W. WILSON

IF one would understand the peculiar influence of James Bryce, one must unlearn the common error that he was "an Englishman" and must see him, not as "English" but as one of England's conquerors—namely, a Scot. Bryce belonged to a race and a generation that bred Strathcona and the railroad kings of Canada, Carnegie and the steel kings of Pittsburgh, Kelvin and the chemistry kings of Glasgow, John Burns, the first wage-earner to enter a British Cabinet, with Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister, his rival, Arthur Balfour, both Archbishops of the Anglican Church, several recent Lord High Chancellors and, indeed, President Wilson himself. Of this great fraternity—eager, ambitious, acquisitive—was James Bryce. He was an aristocrat with them, not of birth but of brain. Where Europe enrolled armies and built navies, Scotland did neither, but in science, in banking, in commerce, in religion, in the arts, made it her aim to rule by knowledge. Not by emotions, not by prejudices, not by wealth or by brute force, but by accurately ascertained information, has the Scot been guided. He is "canny." He knows.

What Bryce displayed was a consecrated avarice for the wealth that is vested in truth. From every man whom he met, from every book that he read, he claimed a dividend on his time which should be forever all his own. As others have amassed riches, so he gathered facts, impressions, memories, jottings, making them his fortune which accumulated with the years by compound interest. Not Alexander the Great himself, not Napoleon, not Victoria on her throne, reigned so securely over so comprehensive an Empire. The countries which Bryce visited, the mountains which he climbed, the rivers where he fished, the valleys where he searched for ferns, became, one by one, his by right of the stronger.

Nor was he at any time an absentee landlord. In the thoughts of each day as it came, he inscribed afresh the title deeds of

his vast estates. Even nations, foreign to his own, acknowledged his sway. It might be Greece—it might be Armenia—it might be the Tyrolese—it might even be the citizenry of the United States, but the spell was the same. Where others had gone their way unheeding, this man had taken the trouble to find out how the other half of the world really lived. Other saints had tended the lepers, had secluded themselves in the silence of the cloister, had thundered forth gospels. For Bryce, godliness meant omniscience. His piety was to see mankind. Not a village anywhere could be in distress without Bryce being aware of it. His was the infinite labor which counts the sparrows as they fall. To be good meant for him just this. Where healing had been attempted so cruelly by treatment without diagnosis, Bryce made diagnosis his life-work. Others found democracy. Bryce found it out.

In capacity of mind, he had in Britain only two rivals, Gladstone and Lord Acton. Both these men amassed great libraries and sat in them. Neither of them, however, approached Bryce in what I may call the humilities of travel. Acton and Gladstone were overcome by books. Printed pages mastered their imaginations. They became spectators of literature. But Bryce was satisfied only when his brain included his bookshelf. Ambassador Jusserand asked him if he had subscribed for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and he answered, "What's the use?" On what he knew, he could have pointed out the Encyclopædia's omissions. And had he wished to learn, the Encyclopædia would not have told him half enough. When coming to this country, I asked Dr. Page, then American Ambassador in London, where I should live. "Under your hat," was his answer. It was under his hat that Bryce lived. The world was his home and he had none other. A pilgrim and a sojourner, he was like Abraham complete in himself wherever he might pitch his tent. And like Abraham, his hospitality was

magnificent. Whatever he had acquired, that he shared. Like Carnegie, it was his aim to give all.

As Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman made him Chief Secretary for Ireland. I heard the speech in which he raised again the tattered flag of Gladstonian Home Rule. Yet as Chief Secretary, he was curiously unpopular. He loved Ireland. He believed in her. But he saw her not in her own green light but as he saw every country in his own white light of serene mid-day. Burrell, who followed Bryce, became absorbed in Ireland, but Bryce never. It needed mankind to absorb Bryce, and Ireland had her appointed place, secure indeed, but neither more nor less. Hence doubtless his hold on the opinion of the United States. The nation here is, after all, mankind in the making. It is Europe, transplanted. And there was no section of Americans about whose origins Bryce did not know more than most of them knew themselves. By study, he achieved a right prescriptive to enter Congresses, Parliaments, Legislatures, Executives, not because anyone elected him but because he possessed the key of knowledge. Few Cardinals were as intimately acquainted with the Papacy, as was he. Let the Hapsburg Dynasty collapse, in the "Holy Roman Empire" of Bryce, it still survives.

To know all is to forgive all, and Bryce has been, perhaps, the only living man of his day who could tell the truth to nations other than his own without causing offense. Until he wrote his "American Commonwealth," none in Great Britain had seriously studied the United States. We read Mark Twain and Edgar Allan Poe. We had our Dickens and our Thackeray. We sauntered when young into "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But in our universities there was not one professor qualified either to study or to teach that phenomenon called the new world. What mattered was not Milwaukee and Minneapolis, but Mycenaee; not St. Louis,

but Sparta. And in this fit of absence of mind, none the less, was Great Britain facing the birth of Australia and South Africa as sovereign and united states. Cecil Rhodes knew better. His copy of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" is scored throughout with cross-references, is stained with tobacco, and bears all the traces of the trek. On the veldt, it was for Cecil Rhodes, as the Bible.

Thus it was that Bryce founded Anglo-American relations on a new basis. Before his day, it had been either flattery or ridicule—the Englishman's alleged eyeglass, the American's alleged twang—but Bryce would have neither. He told of Tammany Hall, but he told of it seriously. If he criticized Congress, it was because Congress involves human destiny. In his style, there was little charm. He was seldom "clever." Few were his epigrams and most of them quoted. But, on the other hand, he was never obscure and seldom verbose. He wasted neither his own time nor yours. He was content to be simply plain. If Providence thought it worth while to create plain people, then it was worth while for a plain person to write of them in plain paragraphs. And out of it all there emerged something greater than knowledge, however profound, which thing was faith. In Bryce lived a man who faced the worst in history—the wars, the atrocities, the secret treaties, the oppression—and yet dared still to believe, not in a dogma merely, but in mankind. He endured the war. He investigated the Armenian massacres. He

pronounced judgment on Germany's conduct in Belgium, yet he died confident. The earth might be without form and void and darkness might be on the face of the deep, but, to this apostle of the genuine, the need was not for cynicism, not for pessimism, not even for sympathy. Over the chaos, Bryce still flung the watchword by which he lived—"Let there be light." His final work on the democracies of the world is indeed a clear shining, even amid the storm.



TO ONE OF HIS BEST FRIENDS
From the *World* (New York)

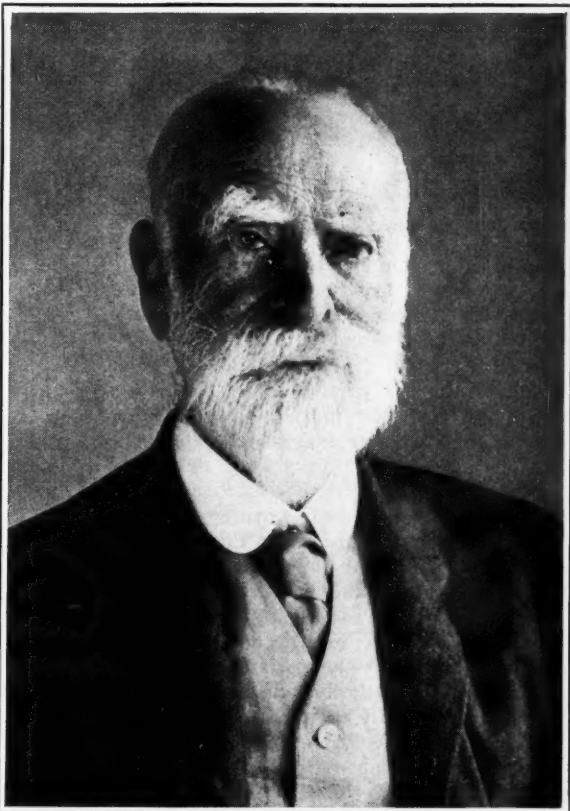
JAMES BRYCE, AS WE KNEW HIM IN AMERICA

BY ALBERT SHAW

NO man of our times was more generous in friendship and appreciation than Lord Bryce. He knew men in all countries, and it was a part of his life work to help mankind to find its own true relationships. His was a spirit of broad understanding, which did not shrink from sacrifices of time and strength whenever he might have a share in achieving something worth while for the common objects of human progress. For obvious reasons, there were more Americans who knew him well than there were Frenchmen or Italians, Germans or Russians, South Americans or people of the Balkan States. But everywhere he had friends and correspondents who contributed steadily to his stores of information, and who were equally accustomed to receive the benefit of his wise and sympathetic counsel.

Numbers of Americans, since his death on January 22, have found some opportunity to express the high regard in which James Bryce was held on this side of the Atlantic. There are indeed, many in this country who are competent to characterize his great career, as that of a man whose business it was to know all things, and to teach the men of different nations how to understand one another and how to study the conditions and tendencies of their times. But in the midst of our American appreciations, there is a special satisfaction in having an estimate of Lord Bryce from a representative Englishman. Mr. P. W. Wilson, the well-known London journalist, now residing in this country, who has contributed so often to our pages, and who was himself for a number of years in the House of Commons, as a

Liberal member, writes for us a finely phrased and well-rounded sketch of Lord Bryce's character as a public man. It is not my habit in editing this REVIEW to write of men and affairs from the personal standpoint, or to indulge in reminiscences. Yet I have been



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A RECENT PORTRAIT OF VISCOUNT BRYCE (1838-1922)

reminded by more than one friend that a long period of acquaintance with Lord Bryce, and a deeply grateful regard for his memory, might justify some casual remarks suggested by memories covering full forty years.

It was as a post-graduate student in history, political science and economics at the Johns Hopkins University, a few months more than two-score years ago, that I first saw, heard, and came to know the British scholar whose hold upon American public opinion was destined to become stronger than that of any other of his countrymen. As recently as 1917, when in his eightieth year, James Bryce accepted his title of Viscount, in order to render public service in the House of Lords. He continued to sign himself "James Bryce," and was glad rather than sorry when his American friends forgot to use his title. We had always called him Mr. Bryce; and as Mr. Bryce he had been known as a great scholar, teacher, barrister, historian, man of letters, parliamentarian, Cabinet officer, and Ambassador. When we made notes on his lectures in those student days, he was in his forty-fourth year, had long held a professorship in Roman Law at the University of Oxford, and had only the year before been elected to the House of Commons.

As a Young Scotch Student

James Bryce's father was a Scotchman and an educator, who had taught in Belfast but belonged in Glasgow. His mother was from County Antrim, Ireland; and I shall allude to her again in the course of these remarks, for I came in after years to know her well. While still a student in the University of Glasgow, although pursuing classical courses, with marked attention to history and philosophy, Bryce—like Theodore Roosevelt, at Harvard—showed a strong boyish taste for natural history and out-of-door things. He was a great walker, a close observer of natural phenomena, and a devoted botanist. Thus his first book told about the Flora of the Island of Arran; and he published this when he was twenty-one years old in 1859. These early tastes followed him through life, and they greatly enriched almost everything of importance that he wrote and published during the subsequent sixty-two years of continuous literary activity.

Leaving the University of Glasgow as a very promising young student, Mr. Bryce went to Oxford, where in 1862 at the age of twenty-four three things happened to him, practically at the same moment, which launched him on his career as a scholar of maturity and of recognized achievement. In that year, 1862, as a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, (1) he was given a B. A.

degree with the highest honors; (2) he wrote a prize essay, later published as a famous book, entitled, "The Holy Roman Empire," and (3) he was chosen a Fellow of Oriel College. Holding a fellowship in an Oxford college gives a young man a home, an academic status, and certain desirable emoluments, but it does not necessarily tie him down. It gave James Bryce the opportunity to proceed at once to the Continent, where he pursued studies in Heidelberg University. He could not, of course, have written his book on German history, called "The Holy Roman Empire," to which I have referred, if he had not already mastered German and other modern languages for purposes of research.

Admission to the Legal Profession

For several years he pursued a career of study and travel with Oxford as his base, and with jurisprudence (ancient and modern) as the most definite and consecutive of his lines of inquiry. This wide reading of Roman law, comparative jurisprudence, and the English common law, resulted in his admission to the bar, and he found himself in 1867 a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, London, still, however, keeping his Oxford connections. In that same year 1867—as an illustration of his industry, and of that method of work which always associated direct observation of places and things with study of books—he wrote and published a volume in the form of a report upon the Condition of Education in Lancashire. All these things will duly appear in biographies of Mr. Bryce, and it will be worth while to know of them in detail. Yet this swift summary may help some readers to consider in better perspective the long and fortunate career of a man so admired and beloved in this country.

Oxford Professor, Barrister, M. P., and Man of Letters All at Once

His work in the science of law led in 1870 to double honors at Oxford: (1) He was given the degree of D. C. L. (Doctor of Civil Law), and (2) he was made a full University Professor, with the title of "Regius Professor of Civil Law." He held that professorship for almost a quarter of a century, resigning it in 1893, although during most of that long period he was also occupied with the duties of his political and parliamentary career.

In some way not easily understandable to those Americans who are familiar only with the customs of public and professional

life in the United States, Mr. Bryce managed for a certain period to hold all at the same time a professorship at Oxford, the position of a practicing barrister in London, and a seat in the House of Commons with very active political duties, to which there was added a fourth occupation, namely, that of a man of letters always engaged upon some task of productive authorship. He was able to do these things by virtue of methodical industry; and he pursued his affairs calmly though with quick energy, and somehow held them all in harmonious relations, meanwhile keeping up his health-giving and ever-broadening recreations as mountain climber and traveler, accurate observer of nature, and inquisitive friend of men, women, and children of various races and colors.

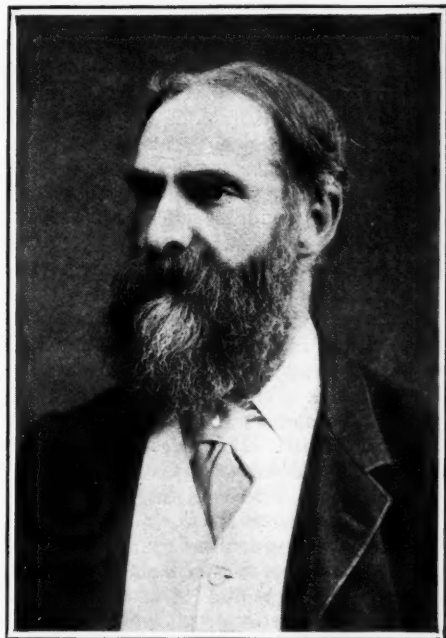
Thus he came to produce in 1877, practically at the same time, a valuable book on Trade Mark Law in the field of his legal studies, and a most fascinating book of travel and adventure called "Transcaucasia and Ararat"—for Mr. Bryce was one of the few human beings who had ever climbed that great peak in Asia Minor. In 1880 he was elected to the House of Commons for an East London constituency (Tower Hamlets). It was five years later that he began to represent the Scotch constituency (South Aberdeen), which kept him in Parliament by reëlections for considerably more than twenty years.

His position in politics, as our older readers will remember, and as our younger readers should be told, was always that of a Gladstonian Liberal; and although he was not an ambitious politician or a spell-binding campaigner, he was invariably to be reckoned with as a member of the inner councils of the party and a wise and scholarly adviser.

Welcomed at Johns Hopkins University

Thus it was that when Mr. Bryce visited this country in 1881 he was eagerly welcomed in our universities; and it was in the nature of things that he should apply his trained powers of observation to a study of all that he saw about him in the United States. We who were studying history had read his "Holy Roman Empire," and it was my privilege to be one of a group who took his lectures in a brief course on Roman Law.

More memorable, however, than the admirable exposition of the principles of the Civil Law was a long evening that a few



MR. BRYCE AS HE APPEARED IN MIDDLE LIFE
(From a photograph taken shortly after the publication of the "American Commonwealth")

of us spent with Mr. Bryce in a round-table discussion of a famous book on America by a great French writer. Alexis de Tocqueville had come to the United States exactly fifty years previous to the visit of James Bryce—primarily to study the penitentiary system. He had made his report in due form upon what were then regarded in Europe as marvelous innovations in the field of penology. But the young Frenchman had conceived a great admiration for the American people in their local and general institutions; and he had written a book, which in my youth it was incumbent upon all of us to read, namely, "Democracy in America." It was the one outstanding work by a foreigner which attempted to analyze, describe, and also appreciate American life.

De Tocqueville had praised the enlightened and virtuous communities of New England, and had found in the little democracies that functioned through the town-meeting the key to our hierarchy of institutions and to our great collective national life. But it was in 1831 that the Frenchman had come to this country; and our life had in many ways expanded and changed. New Englanders had gone West and peopled the prairies.

Millions of immigrants had arrived, and the comparatively small cities of the Frenchman's day had become populous, while many new problems of politics and society had emerged.

What had fifty years done to De Tocqueville? In our historical group at Baltimore, headed by the lamented Herbert B. Adams, we had men from different parts of the country. One from New England, for instance, besides Dr. Herbert Adams, was John Franklin Jameson, himself destined to become a high authority in American history. There was John Dewey and his brother Davis from Vermont, both to become famous scholars. There was Arthur Yager from Kentucky, afterward known as educator and economist, and recently Governor of Porto Rico. There was the late Dr. E. R. L. Gould, an eager Canadian student of history, and afterward an eminent publicist and a citizen of New York. Mr. Rose, now a distinguished judge at Baltimore, was one of the company; Professor Richard T. Ely, head of the Economics Department, joined in the meeting; and there was Levermore who had come from Yale, afterward President of Adelphi College, and now an active worker in the field of international law and diplomatic history. And there were various others who have since played their part in historical scholarship and in public affairs.

An Eager Questioner

We had been given due notice; and the evening, as directed by Professor James Bryce, with the assistance of Professor Herbert Adams, was stimulating in the highest degree to this group of young men, all of whom took a deep interest in the past, the present, and the future of American politics. We were analyzing the picture painted by the Frenchman, and we were at the same time, going back almost a half a century earlier, to the predictions of Alexander Hamilton; for we had all studied "The Federalist" and other writings of that constructive American statesman.

Mr. Bryce asked many questions of those of us who had come from different parts of the country. We had one or two men from California, and others who like myself had already taken some part as youthful citizens in political affairs of the Middle Western States.

Not many years after this meeting, Mr. Bryce had painted a picture of American institutions as they were in the latter part

of the Nineteenth Century; and his was a much larger canvas than the one painted by the brilliant young Frenchman who portrayed American life in the middle of the first half of that century. I think that the subsequent researches of Mr. Bryce in the United States were at least to some extent stimulated by his determination to find answers for the many questions that he asked on that evening in 1881. Somewhat later, there was published in the series of brochures known as the "Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science" a paper by Mr. Bryce on the "Predictions of Hamilton and De Tocqueville."

How the "American Commonwealth" Was Written

Professor Bryce at that time, and on subsequent visits, made the acquaintance of educators and scholars in various other American universities, and met men in numerous States and cities. Everywhere he asked questions, kept his eyes and ears open, made notes constantly, accumulated documents and reports. With his industrious and highly trained mind, he was constantly classifying and assimilating material relating to local, State, and federal institutions, to economic life, to social customs and, indeed, to all phases of the growth of an American nationality and its adaptations to soil, topography, and climate, as our population had spread out across the continent, subduing forests, peopling the prairies, creating the railroad system, building cities, adopting new foreign ingredients of population, and meeting the countless problems of a new country and a new kind of organized life.

It was not until 1888 that the "American Commonwealth" was published in two large volumes. It had been the good fortune of some of our young men to have the opportunity to help Mr. Bryce in collecting material, or in studying and digesting particular topics that were assigned to us. Two or three such topics for instance were given to me, one of them being that of the development of local government as the people of New England and of Virginia carried their dissimilar systems farther West. When I had completed my study of this subject, working hard in Washington and Baltimore, it was sent to England by Professor Adams. Mr. Bryce found the study to be what he had wanted on that subject, and his way of dealing with it I may venture to describe,

not in the least because it concerns me, but because it so well illustrates the thoughtfulness and the generosity that always characterized Mr. Bryce in his relations to young men. It was honor enough to have prepared a paper that was of some use to Mr. Bryce; but he did not stop with a complimentary letter. He handed the essay to his friend John Morley (now Lord Morley, dean of British letters), who was then editing the *Fortnightly Review*. Morley immediately accepted and published it, and the reaction at the Johns Hopkins University was highly fortunate for a certain young student from the West who had come very recently to do post-graduate work, and who had yet to make his place.

How Bryce Was Aided by Americans

Subsequently I was given the opportunity to study other topics for Mr. Bryce, one of them being that of the work of the American State legislatures. Again the same thoughtfulness was shown, and this paper was published in the *Contemporary Review* (John Morley having left the *Fortnightly* and Mr. Bryce being now a regular supporter of the late Sir Percy William Bunting of the *Contemporary*). There were various others whose assistance to Mr. Bryce in that period was far greater and more conspicuous than mine; but nearly all of them were well-known writers and publicists, while I was an unknown student. I would not have anyone infer for a moment that the "American Commonwealth" was not in every sense the product of James Bryce's own study, observation, and industrious authorship. But he was wise enough to know how to avail himself of the knowledge of experts, or of the research work of as many competent students as could be found to give their help.

Not only in the preparation of his chapters did he thus enlist the cooperation of many admiring and willing helpers, but he was also very careful to have his proof-sheets read by experienced Americans in order that those slips that a foreigner might easily make should be detected and avoided. It happened, as the work was passing through the last stages of page proof and soon to be printed in 1888, that I was spending a good many months in England. Thus I had opportunity to do my share in reading proofs; and as respects one part of the book Mr. Bryce allowed me to make suggestions which resulted in material changes. These had

to do with his chapters on education, and concerned especially his remarks upon colleges and universities in the West.

Open-Minded on American Universities

There is no lack to-day in our Eastern universities of full appreciation of good work done in Western and Southern colleges. But forty years ago this could hardly have been said. Undoubtedly Mr. Bryce had been somewhat influenced by a certain habit of disparagement that was not confined to Harvard, but that also existed generally in the East, as respects the young State universities and the small and shabby denominational colleges, particularly those West of the Mississippi. I knew how unselfish and scholarly were many of the Western teachers, and what appreciative readers they would be of Mr. Bryce's great work. I also knew that his book would stand as an authority and a permanent treasure on all their shelves, and that meanwhile their institutions would steadily and rapidly develop. It took some courage for so young a man to make suggestions of this kind to so eminent an author, when the book was virtually on the presses. It is enough to say that the suggestions were accepted; and, while the truth was told about American universities and colleges, there was nothing left that might hurt the feelings of pioneer workers in education.

In later years Mr. Bryce came to know these institutions as well as he knew those of the East; and it was a professor who had spent his life west of the Mississippi (the late Professor Jesse Macy of Grinnell College, Iowa), who was chosen in due time by Mr. Bryce to prepare a one-volume edition of the "American Commonwealth" for use in schools and colleges.

Arranging a Meeting with Gladstone

It was a heavy task to put the "American Commonwealth" through the presses, because it was not merely the record of a visitor's experiences, but a profound work which involved the whole range of American political, economic and social history, with hundreds of statements requiring technical accuracy having to do with all the parts of our governmental mechanism, local and general. There was no page that could be dismissed without critical care. Yet, in this period, great responsibilities in English politics and government were resting upon the shoulders of our slight but vigorous professor and author. When Mr. Gladstone became

Prime Minister in 1886, Bryce had been made Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was in that year that Gladstone had introduced his first Irish Home Rule bill; and party strife was intense. Bryce was especially an authority on the Balkans and the peoples of Turkey, while he was also well versed in all that concerned British policy throughout the world.

He was as busy as a man could well be; yet he was finishing the great book, and he always found time to be of service in the most fruitful ways to his American friends. Armed with frequent passes from him (with similar favors obtained through Mr. Henry White, who was then our popular First Secretary of Legation at London) it was possible for me to attend the sessions of the House of Commons night after night, and thus to become familiar with the faces and the debating of the leaders of that epoch. Mr. Bryce, no longer in the Foreign Office, was in his place on the Opposition bench; while on the front Ministerial bench—already conspicuous among the older men—was Arthur Balfour, called by Irishmen in those days "Bloody Balfour" because it had fallen to him as Chief Secretary for Ireland to enforce the Coercion acts. Balfour was ten years younger than Bryce. Parties had changed, and Lord Salisbury was now Prime Minister.

Mr. Wilson, in the article that precedes this, compares Mr. Bryce's erudition with that of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton. And this reminds me of an evening that was made memorable by another of Mr. Bryce's innumerable acts of thoughtfulness and courtesy. Lord Acton, a profound bookman and scholar who had assembled the most noteworthy private historical library in England, was a close friend of the Gladstones. (Mr. Andrew Carnegie, after Lord Acton's death, purchased this library and bestowed it upon John Morley, who had become Gladstone's biographer and who was an intimate associate of Acton and Bryce and a friend of Mr. Carnegie.) Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone and Lord and Lady Acton were dining with Mr. Bryce. The venerable Liberal leader had important affairs of state to discuss; and young strangers could not have been asked to join this strictly limited party. But, wholly of his own motion, Mr. Bryce sent word to me and to another American friend that there would be a fine opportunity for us to have an hour with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton if we would manage to make

an opportune call at a certain hour later in the evening, possibly half-past nine or ten. We ourselves were not strangers to his hospitable dinner table, yet it was like him to explain carefully why he could not invite us on that occasion to dine with the ex-Prime Minister. I had heard Mr. Gladstone in parliamentary debates, and as an orator on various occasions; but Mr. Bryce wished to give me the opportunity to remember the "Grand Old Man" as he appeared at his best in private, and to have a chat with Lord Acton.

Mr. Bryce's Irish Mother

Mr. Bryce's widowed mother was living happily in a London suburb. She was of keen mentality, intensely interested in politics and affairs, and a convinced Home Ruler, although herself a North-of-Ireland Protestant. In that year, I visited all parts of Ireland; was present at certain notorious and violent eviction scenes on the West Coast near the mouth of the Shannon, and looked into things all the way from Dublin to Limerick, and from Queenstown to Giant's Causeway. No one else was so interested in what I had seen and learned in Ireland as Madam Bryce; who loved to serve tea to her young American friends in the pleasant suburban London home. James Bryce owed much to this vivacious, high-spirited, Irish mother as well as to his learned Scotch father.

A Friend of William T. Stead

The story of Mr. Bryce's further political services in Parliament and in different ministerial posts (he was in the Cabinets of three Prime Ministers) is a long one, and it is not my purpose to relate it. Rather, I am venturing to recall some memories from the American and the personal standpoint. Mr. Morley, always closely associated with Mr. Bryce, had gone from the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review* to the editorship of a daily paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*; and with Mr. Morley as Assistant Editor was William T. Stead, of whom Mr. Bryce and other leaders of the Liberal party remarked to me that he was the most brilliant and promising of all English journalists. Through Mr. Bryce, and at his repeated suggestion, I became acquainted with Mr. Stead and occasionally wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Morley, meanwhile, had gone into the House of Commons and had given up journalism, and Mr. Stead had succeeded him as editor. Subsequently Mr. Stead left daily

journalism to found the (London) *Review of Reviews* at the beginning of 1890, and at his urgent instance the present Editor established the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS just one year later. Mr. Bryce's friendly interest through that period was shown in various ways. Mr. Stead wrote a character-sketch of Mr. Bryce for our pages in 1907.

Mr. Bryce's Political Interests—Ireland and South Africa

On subsequent visits to England, I was indebted to Mr. Bryce for suggestions and help in studies that resulted in my publication of a volume entitled "Municipal Government in Great Britain"—a book which in its day was read by municipal reformers in the United States, and which has still some vogue in England. One found him as President of the Board of Trade—a Cabinet office concerned with commerce—absorbed in the economic problems of England and the British Empire. Or one found him, as Secretary for Ireland, giving conscientious hearings to delegations from all parts of Erin, who came to London to air their grievances or to advocate changes. Or one was quite likely to find him with some anxious visitor from the Balkan States, who wished to consult him about the affairs of the Near East.

In 1897, as a result of a voyage of inquiry, and of extensive inland travels from Cape Town, he published a volume called "Impressions of South Africa." This of course was not so extensive a work as the "American Commonwealth," but it was produced by similar methods of observation and acquisition. I have always thought it the best book ever written about the beginnings and the progress of the British-Dutch civilization at the southern end of the Dark Continent. Soon afterward the Boer War was precipitated—one of the most bitter struggles in which the British Empire was ever engaged. Mr. Bryce's party had split upon the rock of Irish Home Rule; and the Unionists were in office again, with Salisbury as Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain had left the Liberals and was Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Bryce was strongly opposed to what he regarded as the program of aggressive British imperialism which he deemed responsible for the conflict. In this position he was fully in accord with the views of Mr. Morley, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lloyd George, and journalists like Mr. Stead. Through all this period he was a member of Parliament from his Aberdeen

constituency. When the Liberals came back into power with Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, Mr. Bryce was one of those who was able, through his intimate knowledge of South Africa, to help in setting up the federal Union of the former Boer Republics with Cape Colony and Natal on a self-governing basis—a union which has produced such fortunate results, as shown in the magnificent coöperation of South Africa with Great Britain and the Allies during the recent war. It was at this time also that Mr. Bryce served as Secretary for Ireland.

Ambassador to the United States

Meanwhile he never ceased writing, and he had published two or three volumes of essays and studies, following the book on South Africa. Next came what we in America have regarded as an honor to both countries, namely, his appointment as Ambassador at Washington in 1907, a post which he continued to occupy for six years. Simultaneously with his coming to Washington, his long membership in the House of Commons came to an end; while almost immediately after his return to England in 1913, he was elevated to the peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords. He had remained unmarried until 1889, but he was destined to enjoy a third-of-a-century's companionship with Lady Bryce, to whose constant aid in his personal and official career he bore testimony in tactful and felicitous sentences several months ago in New York, at a dinner given in honor of Lord and Lady Bryce by the Sulgrave Institution as he was about to sail home from his last visit to America.

During his years as Ambassador at Washington, his knowledge of American life and affairs was constantly enriched by his fresh contacts and daily opportunities. In association with Secretary Root, he mastered all the intricacies of historical relationship between the United States and the British-American territories. There are no chapters in American diplomacy more worthy or more creditable than those which relate to the successful efforts of Ambassador Bryce and the Hon. Elihu Root to find solutions for a series of differences, some of them of long and stubborn duration, affecting the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Each of these two statesmen and diplomatists sought justice rather than advantage. Both of them realized that the essential interests of Canada and the United States were those of neighbors, friends and associates; and that

each was destined to profit by all that made for the welfare of the other.

Visits South America

Mr. Bryce had always wished to see South America. His fruitful visit to Africa had been due to the advice of his physician, who instructed him to take a long voyage for complete rest. In similar fashion, his opportunity to see South America came with the need of a vacation trip, and the journey was immediately followed by publication in 1912 of his "South America: Observations and Impressions." He had avoided over-much exhausting land travel in South America, for he was now about seventy-two years old. But he knew so well how to add color from personal observation to the information that he could obtain from books and documents that he was able to give us a very valuable work, produced—like his previous studies of countries—by his own peculiar blend of the political scientist, the student of nature, and the traveler who asks questions and makes note of manners and customs.

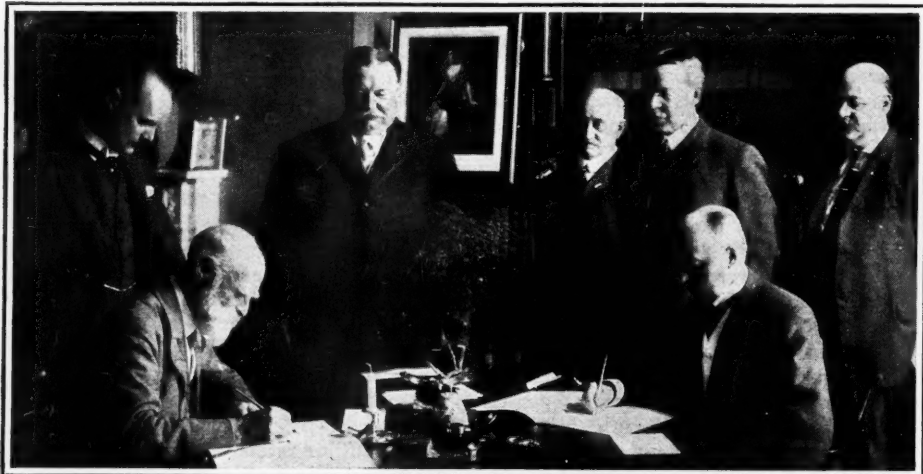
His Work on "Modern Democracies" and the Williamstown Lectures

Recently there appeared from his pen a work entitled "Modern Democracies," in two large volumes, which has been generally regarded as the final summing up of his lifelong study of political progress throughout the world. He had entered the House of Lords in the year that saw the outbreak of the Great War. He was chairman of the

British Commission that made a report upon German atrocities in Belgium. He gave much effort to exposing the Armenian massacres. He was the constant helper and adviser in these last years—as through many decades—of American missionaries and teachers in the Turkish Empire. To the very end he served others with unslackened industry.

His points of view regarding world organization were more closely akin, perhaps, to those entertained in America than to those of certain British leaders. When last summer he lectured at Williams College he criticized many things in the Treaty of Versailles; but he strongly supported the policies—which Americans also favor—of a World Court, an accepted code of International Law, and practical steps for Disarmament. He had followed the progress of the Conference at Washington, and had been greatly cheered by the harmonious cooperation of the British and American delegates in providing for naval equality, and in adopting measures which seemed to make it reasonably certain that the United States and the British Empire henceforth would be found associated in many ways for bringing peace and stability to the world.

To the people of England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australasia, Lord Bryce seemed one of their own trusted leaders. The modest scholar had grown to the position of an international interpreter, and a recognized friend of all mankind.



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SIGNING OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION TREATY ON AUGUST 3, 1911—AMBASSADOR BRYCE AND THE HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX, SECRETARY OF STATE, PRESIDENT TAFT IN THE CENTER.

OUR NEW ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, SECRETARY OF WAR

[With the closing of the Conference on Limitation of Armament, it is well not to forget the fact that we have had to use armies and navies in several great national emergencies. The time has not yet come for neglect of means by which we may be prepared to defend our rights and to uphold the cause of order and justice in the world. A little more than three years ago we had an army of more than four million men in uniform and under strict discipline. We have demobilized, and are now maintaining an army of considerably less than two hundred thousand men. The War Department is facing the necessity of looking ahead in such a way that we could create again a large and efficient force in a short time. Secretary Weeks, with the expert planning of the General Staff and with the support of the Administration and of Congress, has adopted a plan for our New Army. In the following article the Secretary himself presents the outline of that plan.—THE EDITOR]

THE Army of the United States is a new organization in which the lessons of the World War are being crystallized. This organization does not depart from our traditional military policy. These two facts, in general, seem not to be readily understood. In the organization as planned we have attained a degree of elasticity which, I believe, will provide the means to meet any possible emergency. Washington said, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. A free people ought not only be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite." For the first time in our history this advice has been followed without equivocation.

With the selection of General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, as chief of staff, and Major-General James G. Harbord, who rose to eminence in command of our Service of Supply overseas, as deputy chief of staff, we are assured that the lessons of the war will not be lost, but that in the soundest military policy these lessons will be transmitted to oncoming generations. In the future, as in the past, our wars will be fought in the main by armies composed of citizen soldiers temporarily drawn into active military service. We still have the conception of a small Regular Army in time of peace, reinforced upon the outbreak of war by such additional citizen forces as the particular emergency may require. But, whereas in the past the citizen forces have been completely extemporized or materially organized upon the occurrence of an emer-

gency, the new plan provides that they shall be allocated territorially, that their officers and men shall be assigned to local units, and that as funds become available provision shall be made for the training of these officers and men.

National Guard and Organized Reserves

In other words, the war force required for immediate mobilization in the event of emergency is to be constituted in time of peace and filled as far as practicable through the enrollment or enlistment of qualified volunteers. Now, under such a system it is reasonable to expect that the units of the National Guard will be maintained at sufficient strength to be effective as a first reinforcement for the Regular Army, and that the units of the Organized Reserves will at least include a corps of officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted specialists, organized and equipped to receive and train the recruits required in an emergency demanding large forces. It is with the requirements of this larger war establishment in view that the peace organization must be determined. The National Defense law provides a limited number of enlisted men and a number of officers in excess of the number required with the Regular Army proper. This provision of law shows clearly the intent of Congress that a portion of the officers authorized are to be employed in the organization, administration and development of the National Guard, the Organized Reserves, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the Citizens' Training Corps. It was the President's desire that the Regular

Army be so organized as to carry out this intent of Congress to the fullest extent.

Reconstituting World War Units

The Regular Army, therefore, is formed into a limited number of organizations, each at as effective military strength as the appropriations will allow. This will permit the detail of a maximum number of selected officers and enlisted men for service with these other components of the Army of the United States. While the basic plan for the development of the citizen components of the Army had been formulated by appropriate committees of the General Staff, composed in part of National Guard and Reserve Officers as provided for in the organic law, a vast amount of constructive work remains to be done. This work has been carried on with the greatest energy and with the result that considerable progress has been made in the development of these forces. The basis upon which the plans for the organization of both the National Guard and Organized Reserves have been drafted is the reconstruction, as far as practicable, of the great combat divisions which won such high distinction during the World War. With the reconstitution of these units, with their designating numbers, their flags and their history, it is believed that there will be a revival and continuation of the spirit and the traditions that led them to victory in the great conflict.

The basic plan for the National Guard provides for the organization of this component into eighteen divisions and a small proportion of Corps and Army troops, so, that when combined with the Regular Army, both together will be able to furnish on mobilization the essential combat elements of three field armies, one from the Regular Army and two from the National Guard. The basic idea underlying the plan was to provide for all of the necessary units required under the law for an immediate mobilization in an emergency declared by Congress, with a view to avoiding the necessity for reorganization on mobilization, which was such an unhappy feature of the mobilization of 1917. All the National Guard divisions, or their subordinate units, which participated in the World War, have been reconstituted, and three additional divisions have been organized. These divisions are numbered from 26 to 45, inclusive. It is believed that the development of the National Guard along sound tactical lines is

thus assured. An important feature of this development is the harmonious mutual support and coöperation now existing between the States and the War Department. For the training and instruction of the National Guard component it is estimated that a total of about 900 Regular Army officers will be required.

In order to forestall confusion in an emergency, a definite policy has been determined and announced, providing for bringing the National Guard officers into the Federal service in the event of that force being drafted. In time of peace the procurement of National Guard officers is largely in the hands of the States. On March 4, 1921, there were 3562 federally recognized National Guard officers. On September 30 there were 6251 such officers—a most substantial and satisfactory increase for so short a period.

The Reserves' Organization

The development of the National Guard having been assured, initiation of the organization of the Organized Reserves was taken up about April 1, 1921. The Organized Reserves are a purely Federal force, raised, trained, supported and employed by the United States under the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution. In a war of any magnitude, they will constitute the major component of the Army of the United States. The members have a war obligation only. In time of peace, when funds are available, they may be called out for training, but not for more than fifteen days, except with their own consent. Under the basic plan, this component will provide the framework for three field armies of twenty-seven Infantry divisions and the required Corps, Army and General Headquarters reserve troops, and in addition for any deficiencies in the first three armies comprising the National Guard and the Regular Army. In order that the organization of this component might be effected in an orderly manner, a large amount of time and labor has been expended in the preparation of basic regulations. Special regulations published about June 1, 1921, set forth in a comprehensive manner the plan for the organization, training, administration and mobilization of units. Supplementary to these and of equal importance are special regulations for the Enlisted Reserve Corps and for the Officers' Reserve Corps. These regulations cover all matters relating to the enlisted and

commissioned components of the reserves.

As soon as the basic regulations were available, tables of allotments showing the units of the Organized Reserve were prepared. Based upon these tables, studies have been made in each of our nine Corps Areas covering the plans for organization and localization of units. These studies have been approved by the War Department, and Corps Area commanders and their assistants are actively engaged in making the plans effective. In this connection, groups of selected officers of the Regular Army and a small number of enlisted men have been recently placed at the disposal of Corps Area commanders to assist in the organization of these units. The total number of officers of the Regular Army eventually required for duty with the reserve is estimated at about 1200. During the year assemblies of reserve officers were held to discuss plans for their units and for instruction as to their organization. By the opening of the year 1923 it is expected that all of the National Guard and National Army divisions, and their subordinate units, which have served in the World War, will have been reconstituted. They will retain their names, numbers, and other designations, also their war records, and will preserve a measure of the military strength they developed at such great cost during the war.

The assignment of reserve officers is advancing toward completion. In the selection of general officers of the reserve forces, to insure uniformity, provision has been made for a board composed of general officers of the Regular Army, Officers' Reserve Corps and National Guard to make recommendations to the Secretary of War relative to all candidates for appointment or Federal recognition as general officers. An important policy has been developed and put into operation that each reserve officer be given an assignment in time of peace to an office he is to fill upon mobilization. With the exception of the officers reserved for War Department activities, the assignments are delegated to Corps Area and Department commanders. Data bearing on suitability for assignment are furnished these commanders by the War Department and the actual assignments are made as the units of the Organized Reserves are organized.

Operation of a Draft Under the New Plan

It will be seen that we have in the Army of the United States these three components:

Regular Army, a small force of professional soldiers; the National Guard, or State militia; the Organized Reserves, a war force of skeletonized units. It is in this reserve component especially that we are following the counsel of General Washington, and at practically no expense because for the setting up of the mere outline officers and men of the regular establishment are used, aided by voluntary service of reserve officers. From our experience in the last two great wars, we may assume that the United States is committed to selective service, or draft, in times of great emergency calling for the major effort. In place of the distressing, wasteful, inefficient method of 1917, when the drafted men were rushed helter-skelter into camps while great forces of workers were constructing these concentration centres, the passage of drafted men under the new plan will be orderly, prompt and efficient.

In every detail of organization these divisions and units will be complete, both for line and staff duty. The increments from the draft will simply fill out the existing skeletonized formations until all have reached war strength, when the units immediately will go into training under trained officers, who will command them thenceforth. Not only will the reserve officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted specialists composing the skeleton organization have definite assignments, but every drafted man on passing his local board will be assigned to a definite unit in which will be gathered the young men of his immediate locality. Thus, the drafted man will have a place to go to and into an organization geographically his very own, and he will easily drop into his special niche among his civilian associates. There will be no confusion, a lessening of heart-burnings. And the elasticity of this plan for orderly expansion—and, inversely, contraction—will give us a potential military arm far greater because of its efficiency than our mere man power as a nation.

Value of Preparedness

Had the magnificent armies of General Grant and General Sherman at the close of the Civil War been preserved in outline, as we are preserving the armies of the World War, and had they brought down through the years the wonderful background of their war service and their history, as we are now planning to preserve the traditions of service in the World War, it is my belief that our constant state of preparedness would have

exerted a very great influence upon our national policies and upon recent world events. For it is true that those who have a penchant for "rattling the saber" do not indulge in this practice in the face of a nation prepared to resent it. We can never overtake our losses in men and treasure due to our traditional unpreparedness; but we can take steps to guard against repeating the errors of the past. And this is being done by adherence to the fundamental principles embodied in the National Defense Act of 1916, as amended by the Act approved by the President on June 4, 1920.

Effective Work of the R.O.T.C.

The measures taken by the War Department to carry into effect the provisions of law relative to the training, particularly those relating to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Citizens' Military Training Camps, the Organized Reserves and the Service Schools, are indicative of first steps toward realizing the conception of preparedness. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps has recently completed the most successful year of its operation and has established beyond all doubt that its graduates constitute one of the main sources of officer replacement for the Officers' Reserve Corps. The practice was established at the close of the school year, last June, of presenting the commissions in the Reserve Corps to the graduates during the commencement exercises. In the same manner certificates were presented graduates less than twenty-one years old. These certificates of qualification may be presented at any time in five years and will entitle the holder to a reserve commission. Approximately eleven hundred college graduates received commissions or certificates last year. It is the expectation that the Organized Reserve, with the actual assignment of officers to organizations, will appeal to the young men graduating from the colleges each year and that they will generally avail themselves of the privileges of their certificates.

The completion of the college year (1921) found the Reserve Officers' Training Corps more firmly established and more generally appreciated and esteemed than ever before. The summer camps conducted in the various sections of our country were highly satisfactory to the War Department and fulfilled their purpose most effectively. The students enrolled at the various colleges for the different branches of the reserve were segre-

gated in camps according to branches where they received specialized training. The variety of units has been extended so that young men are now specially instructed and trained as Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, Engineer, Signal, Quartermaster, Ordnance, Air, Medical, Dental and Veterinary officers, and directly commissioned as such. Approximately 90,000 students completed the year's training in units located in every State and Territory, including Hawaii and Porto Rico. The detail of regular officers on R.O.T.C. duty at schools and colleges has not only supported that feature of the new national policy of preparedness, but it has brought the Army in close contact with the leading educational institutions of the country.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Under authority contained in the law, Citizens' Military Training Camps were established throughout the United States with one or two camps in each Corps Area. Our reports on those camps and the personal inspections indicate that their conduct and the success attending the efforts of the Government to provide military training for civilians, have been characterized generally by excellent results. Although the age limits established for the course are sixteen and thirty-five years, only a small percentage of men of mature age attended camps during the summer. In view of the fact that young men of high-school age have constituted the great majority in attendance, the War Department exercised special care to provide for correct conduct, wholesome recreation, profitable training, and the most productive use of time.

The number of candidates attending these citizens' camps was limited by the appropriations made by Congress for the purpose. The number authorized was 11,085, while the number of applicants was 40,589. It is seen, therefore, that only 27 per cent. of the total number of applicants could be accommodated. This oversubscription could not have been foreseen, however, and while it was necessary to deny attendance to approximately two-thirds of the applicants, it was made clear that those rejected would be placed on the preferred list for next year. This number, together with the number of new applicants as the result of the representations of enthusiastic candidates attending the camps, serves to indicate that a sound popularity attaches to the project of Citi-

zens' Military Training Camps, so wisely provided for by Congress.

Correspondence Courses for Reserve Officers

The training of reserve officers has been greatly facilitated by the spirit of coöperation and helpfulness which they have manifested, and especially their disposition in time of peace to volunteer for training and instruction without expense to the Government. In order that the limited appropriations for the training of the Organized Reserves may be supplemented, the War Department has provided for the formulation and conduct of correspondence courses in each Corps Area. These courses will have for their purpose the theoretical training of officers and non-commissioned officers during periods when field service cannot be provided, or is not desirable. It is believed that this provision for correspondence courses will serve to meet the demand of economy in many cases where active service is not absolutely necessary. Provisions have been made for opening in all territorial commands, correspondence schools for officers of the National Guard and Organized Reserves.

Work of the Army General Service Schools and Special Service Schools has carefully been coördinated to the end that all overlapping of instruction has been eliminated. Courses at the Special Service Schools, under instruction from the War Department, have been arranged to provide that officers will receive such special instruction as will eminently qualify them for duty with the Organized Reserves, National Guard, Reserve Officers' Training Corps units, and Citizens' Military Training Camps. Courses have been arranged to supply instructors, both commissioned and enlisted, to carry on the work of educational and vocational training in Army post schools.

Industrial Mobilization

In a general way I have outlined the measures that have been taken to carry out provisions of the National Defense Act relative to the mobilization of the man power of the nation. But the law also contains important provisions relative to the mobilization of supply. Under its provisions the Assistant Secretary of War is charged with the supervision of the procurement of all military supplies and the assurance of adequate provision for the mobilization of material and industrial organizations essential to war-time needs. This provision of law

has been made effective, and an exhaustive study is being made in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the records of the War Industries Board and the Council of National Defense in connection with the problems of industrial mobilization. This will form the basis of the plans for industrial mobilization to be worked out in detail by the supply branches of the War Department.

The problem in industrial mobilization has been divided into its elements—commodities, labor, power and transportation. A large group of officers in the various supply branches was assigned to the duty of preparing special reports in detail. In this work reserve officers are utilized to a great extent, and those engaged in industrial pursuits will be assigned to the study of their own specialties. Many reserve officers have volunteered their services in this connection, and their hearty response to the War Department's proposals indicates an appreciation of the importance of our industrial mobilization plans. An orderly, systematic method of determining the requirements of the War Department in all articles of supply was prepared and put into effect early last year. The working out of this plan will show just how much of every article will be required for a war reserve. When this plan is completed, we shall have, for the first time in American history, a definite mobilization policy for war, and, in so far as appropriations will permit, we shall have the reserve munitions necessary to sustain that mobilization until production can be relied upon to renew the stock.

On these computations, a definite statement can be presented to Congress showing just what reserves are deemed necessary in order that Congress may determine what degree of preparation for defense of the country it will provide. Meanwhile, these computations of requirements, made on a definite basis, disclosed new quantities of surplus articles of supply, which were promptly declared and disposed of. More than \$70,000,000 worth of surplus property has been disclosed directly by these computations, and it can now be seen that a still greater surplus will result therefrom. As soon as the eventual mobilization policy is arrived at, the requirements in reserves and the further disclosure of surplus that results therefrom will be quickly calculated, and within a few months the declaration and disposal of all surplus supplies of the War Department will be completed.

Organization of the General Staff

An important departure has been made in the reorganization of the General Staff. Up to the present time the organization of the War Department General Staff has been unscientific and dependent to a large extent upon the personalities of individual members. The faults of this organization were magnified tremendously on the entrance of the United States into the World War. The organization of the General Staff then built up within the War Department to meet the problems presented, though unavoidable and necessary to meet the demands of the moment, was nevertheless unwieldly and productive of many faults, particularly the assumption of administrative and operative duties that should have been performed solely by existing operating agencies. Hitherto the War Department General Staff has been constituted a single indivisible unit. The principle of General Staff organization has never been recognized that in the event of war one portion of the central control must take the field prepared to assist the commanding general in the conduct of military operations, while another portion must remain in the War Department prepared to conduct the equally important operations connected with mobilization.

In the past, and prior to the World War, the War Department General Staff was so absorbed in routine, peace-time administration that its military head has had no time for deliberate preparation for military operations. In our history, therefore, it has always been true that at the outbreak of hostilities there has been a sudden rupture of the peace-time organization resulting in an extemporized and unprepared field headquarters on the one hand, and on the other hand a mobilization machinery depleted and disorganized just at the time when full activity was demanded. An analysis of Section 5b of the National Defense Act, as amended, shows the duties of the War Department General Staff to be divided into two categories: first, the duty of mobilizing the manhood and the resources of the nation and their preparation, training, concentration and delivery to the field forces, and, second, the use of the military forces for the national defense, *i.e.*, actual employment of the armed forces against the enemy. It is a fundamental principle that if efficient execution of plans is to be expected those engaged in their formulation and preparation should also be charged with their execution. The applica-

tion of this principle is the basis for the new organization.

This new General Staff organization is in five divisions, the first four divisions to be known as G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, dealing with such questions as personnel, intelligence, operations and training, and supply, duties of a routine and continuing nature necessary in peace and war. A fifth division, known as the War Plans Division, is charged with the formulation of plans for the actual employment of the armed forces in the national defense, this division constituting the nucleus of the General Headquarters of the Field Forces. The reorganization, therefore, contemplates that the Chief of Staff will be charged with the larger problems connected with the organization and training of the Army of the United States, including the National Guard and Organized Reserves as well as the Regular Army, and that portion of his staff known as the War Plans Division will be charged with the preparation of plans for actual field operation in the national defense and, upon the outbreak of war, will expand and take the field as General Staff at G. H. Q.

Another portion of the War Department General Staff, under the Deputy Chief of Staff, will be charged with the preparation of plans for mobilization in time of war, and with the routine business of the War Department in peace and war. It therefore permits the Chief of Staff, upon the outbreak of hostilities, to take the field with a headquarters consisting of a trained personnel which has prepared the plans of campaign, while his principal assistant (the Deputy Chief of Staff in time of peace), will become the chief of the War Department General Staff, retaining that portion of the personnel which has worked out the plan of mobilization of men and *materiel*.

I have only been able to outline in a general way the measures which the War Department has taken in the interests of economy, coöperation with Congress, and organization for national defense. Most of these projects are only in their initial stages and will require many years for their full development. In my opinion, we are assured in these measures that the lessons of the World War will not be lost, but that in the enlightened War Department policy they will be transmitted to future generations and make for permanent peace. And our country will be prepared for a major or minor defense at minimum cost in life and treasure.



EX-SERVICE MEN DRAWING LOTS FOR FARMS

(At Torrington, Wyoming, September 9, 1921, the Government allotted 244 irrigated farms. War veterans to the number of 3436, representing thirty-six States, the District of Columbia, and Canada, applied—convincing evidence of the land hunger of the people)

A NEW HOMESTEAD POLICY FOR AMERICA

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

FIGHTING silently but stubbornly at Washington, a little band of devoted men is fashioning a new homestead policy which it believes will prove adequate to the future needs of America. These men—publicists, engineers, department officials, a few members of each branch of Congress—remember what most have forgotten. They remember that the homestead is the real foundation of America. They know that, while the old homestead policy is utterly outgrown, it is vital to the national welfare that its principles should be revived, and that it should be made to live again in all its tremendous significance.

They know, too, that the physical opportunity is still wide open; that in a sense it is even greater now than when the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts and the Cavaliers in Virginia, because of modern advantages in the way of transportation, machinery and the organized economic life of the nation. But they know that with the disappearance of the last large areas of free public land available for use without some sort of reclamation, new methods must be adopted to carry out the old policy which aims at the

steady conquest of natural resources, and the central object of which is to multiply independent homes in the land.

These devotees are familiar with the glacial drift of the population from country to town. They read its sinister meaning in the gradual disinheritance of the people from the land; in the growing dependence of the masses upon employment and wages for the means of subsistence; in the startling change that is coming over the face of American democracy in consequence of those influences. They know that wherever revolution has occurred or threatened it has had its root in the question of land ownership. They know the cause in which they have enlisted—not too late, they hope—is nothing less than the cause of an America that shall go on greating with the generations, as much the Land of Opportunity in the days of our children as in the days of our fathers.

These men find their opponents largely among organized agricultural interests that appear to want no new competitors on the soil, adopting an attitude almost amounting to advocacy of the "closed farm" to go with

the closed shop of trades-unionism. Such a view is comprehensible in a time of deep depression, but cannot be justified upon serious economic grounds. The real obstacle which the friends of the new homestead policy are facing is inertia—the indifference of statesmen, press and public. It is time their message was heard and the country aroused to a sense of its vital importance.

A Glance at the Past

Few realize in how large a degree the homestead policy was responsible for the prosperity and greatness of the nation in the past. In speaking of the policy I am using the word "homestead" not in its narrow sense, as applied to a particular statute, but in its broadest implications as signifying the march of the American people from ocean to ocean and their gradual conquest of the natural resources of the continent. The pioneer is always the farmer and home-builder, but all the institutions of a complex civilization follow in his wake. When we come to a standstill in this policy of out-reaching development, as we have almost done during the past decade, we cease to grow, and for America to cease to grow is to cease to prosper.

In the half-century between 1850 and 1900 the nation added 301,465,873 acres to the area of improved farms. This was a growth of more than 6,000,000 acres, or 85,000 farms, every year. These new farms brought prosperity not only to the Middle West, but to every part of the United States. They compelled the building of great lines of transportation; they opened a new market for the products of Eastern factories, together with wide channels for the investment of the accumulated capital of the East; they enabled us to absorb millions of immigrants, who became the very bone and sinew of the growing nation; they brought forth every year a vast fund of new wealth which was distributed throughout all the channels of trade and commerce. It was the most remarkable development of agriculture in the entire history of the race. Who is so blind that he cannot see that this process of extending man's dominion over natural resources laid the broad foundations of national prosperity?

Reversing the Engine

During the past twenty years the great engine of national progress has been reversed and stands almost idle on its tracks. As

late as the decade between 1900 and 1910 the number of farms increased 10.9 per cent. In the ten years following, 1910 to 1920, the figure fell to 1.4 per cent. During the last decade cities of 10,000 and upward grew seven and one-half times as fast as farm population. The tendency to farm abandonment, which began in New England many years ago, extended steadily westward and now involves every State of the Middle West, except Wisconsin and Minnesota. Facts of this kind could be multiplied almost indefinitely. If the downward trend continues, then the existing business depression must become a permanent condition.

Looking Twenty Years Ahead

During the last seventy years the United States scored an average gain in population of 24 per cent. in each decade. Assuming a rate of increase of only 15 per cent. in each of the next two decades, the total population will be about 140,000,000 by 1940; and, if present tendencies continue, 85,000,000 of these will be living in towns and cities and only 55,000,000 in the country.

This is the estimate of Douglas W. Ross, C. E., one of the most valiant fighters engaged in the struggle for the new homestead policy. His deduction from these facts is as follows:

Such a situation brings us face to face with one of the greatest problems of our times, for no economic foundation exists, nor is one being developed, that will insure even a bare subsistence—to say nothing of comfort and plenty—for many of the millions who promise to further crowd already congested centers or that will protect our institutions against the evils incident to the abnormal distribution of population which we now appear bent upon establishing.

Mr. Ross estimates that, even to feed the increased rural population at its present slow rate of growth, the cultivated area must increase at the rate of 2,200,000 acres each year, or a total of 44,000,000 acres in the next twenty years, if the nation is to continue to be self-sustaining. This, however, is only one-third the land that will be required to supply the needs of the entire growth of the national population, urban and rural, during that period. His estimate of the total increased area that will be required is 130,000,000 acres, and this would call for an addition of about twenty million more people to the rural population, or an average increase on the soil of a million a year.

Future Fields of Conquest

The growth of American agriculture during the past seventy years has been sectional. The next great movement will be distinctly national. No part of the nation, and scarcely a single State, will fail to feel the new impulse toward the soil. The triumphant conquest of the Western desert will go on, at least for a few generations, but the abandoned farming districts of New England, the vast cut-over areas of the Northwest and the South, the drainage areas existing in many parts of the country, but more largely in the South than elsewhere, these will be the fields of future conquest. Everywhere it will be a work of reclamation instead of the easy settlement of fertile lands lying ready for the plow, as was the case in the Mississippi Valley. And for this reason it is a work that lies beyond the reach of the individual settler and calls for national action. The logical method, as we shall see, is the nationalization of the United States Reclamation Service, which has worked wonders in Arid America during the past eighteen years.

It is unvarying history, a principle written deep in human nature, that men prize most highly those things that have cost them most dearly. By this token the reclaimed lands of the North, the East, and the South will become as dear to men's hearts as the reclaimed lands of the West. For the same reason they will tend toward smaller and ever smaller holdings with the growth of scientific methods and intensive cultivation. More and more we are learning that the measure of success on the soil is not the size of the holding, but the size of the man—that is to say, the excellence of his workmanship. Accompanying diagrams indicate broadly, at least, the location of the various kinds of land that will be subdued to the highest uses in days to come.

The New Life of the Land

Old forms of rural life are dead or dying. They have failed absolutely to keep step with human progress and human needs. Considered from the standpoint of educa-

tion, of health, of earning capacity, of entertainment, of joy of living, rural life is poor and disheartening compared with life in town. It is not, then, merely rural expansion that is needed, but a quality of rural betterment amounting to a revolution in the life of the land.

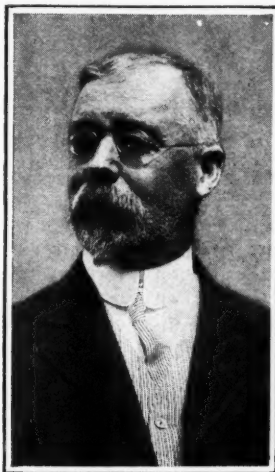
The first American State to recognize this great fact is California. This is due in part to its climate, which makes it an outdoor country, but it is in large part due to the vision of its teachers, leaders, and statesmen, and foremost among these, Dr. Elwood Mead, head of the Department of Rural Institutions at the University of California, and chairman of the State Board of Land Settlement.

The beginnings of the fine rural life of California go back nearly half a century to the planting of irrigated colonies in the southern part of the State. Anaheim and Riverside were the seed of small farms, cooperative selling organizations, and highly developed social life. This seed has been widely scattered throughout the State. The distinction of Dr. Mead's work is the fact that he succeeded in making it the business of the State itself to do with scientific precision

things which had hitherto been left to real-estate operators with varying degrees of knowledge and conscience. The keynote of the new homestead policy, that shall bless America with millions of happy, independent homes, lies right there in the recognition of the responsibility of the State and nation for the welfare of its people on the soil.

Utah is another State that illustrates the value of public leadership, though there it is the leadership of the church, but of a church so largely dominant that it constitutes a State within a State. There, too, we see the small, intensely cultivated farm, coöperation in buying and selling, and a degree of attention to the satisfaction of the social instinct not usually appreciated by those who take a superficial view of its institutions.

The men who are fighting for the new homestead policy, and praying that it may



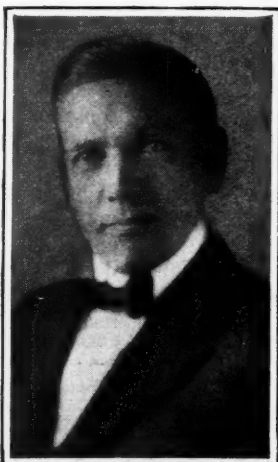
HON. WILLIAM SPRY
(Former Governor of Utah, now
Commissioner of the General Land
Office)



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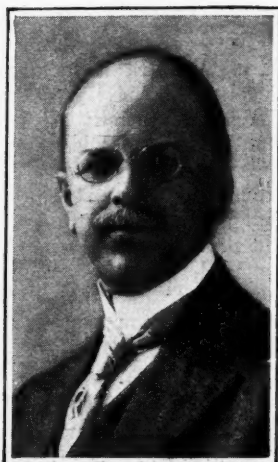
HON. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD

(The one Southern Congressman who has made national reclamation a principal object of his public career)



SENATOR McNARY OF OREGON

(One of the Western leaders, who has adopted the broad national view of reclamation)



HON. ADDISON T. SMITH

(Representative from Idaho, who introduced one of the first measures for nationalizing reclamation)

come into being in time to avert national disaster, take this principle of the leadership of the Government as the cornerstone on which the superstructure of homes and institutions shall be reared throughout future generations. They neither ask nor expect that the great sums of money which must ultimately be spent in carrying on the work of national development shall come out of the public treasury in the future any more than in the past. We shall presently see that they have devised a method by which natural resources shall become the basis of credit, and by which the vast sums needed shall be repaid through the patient toil of the people themselves.

Harnessing West and South

One great thing has been accomplished during the past few years, and that is a working union between the Western and Southern friends of reclamation.

Among Western men who have exerted a powerful influence to this end are Senators Borah of Idaho, Jones of Washington, McNary of Oregon, and Smoot of Utah, ex-Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, Representative Mondell of Wyoming, Republican leader of the House; Representative Addison T. Smith of Idaho, former Governor Spry of Utah, now Commissioner of the General Land Office; George H. Maxwell of California, executive chairman of the National Reclamation Association, and

Douglas W. Ross, now of California, but former State Engineer of Idaho. Of Southern men who have sensed the vast significance of reclamation on a national scale, Congressman William B. Bankhead of Alabama, and Clement S. Ucker, vice-president of the Southern Settlement and Development Organization, are first and foremost. Frederick H. Newell, former director of the Reclamation Service, has borne a conspicuous part in the effort to unite the West and South on broad, national grounds.

A Dream of Billions

The reclamation movement is a child of the West—a favorite child. When all the small things that could be done by individual and coöperative effort had been accomplished the men of the West turned their faces toward Washington and asked for help. They founded their appeal upon the fact that they were dealing largely with public lands, and they asked that the proceeds arising from the sale of such lands should be dedicated to a reclamation fund. Their hour of triumph came twenty years ago with the passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902. Under the operations of this act the most wonderful engineering works on the continent have been created, millions of acres reclaimed, tens of thousands of homes established. And all this has been done for less than the cost of three battleships—\$120,000,000.



C. J. BLANCHARD

(Statistician and lecturer of Reclamation Service, who has reached more people with the spoken word than any other advocate of the new Homestead policy)



ARTHUR P. DAVIS

(Director of U. S. Reclamation Service, who would become administrative head of the new Homestead policy under pending legislation)



© Bachrach

CLEMENT S. UCKER

(Who, as leader of the Southern Settlement and Development Organization, has exerted a powerful influence to unite the South and West on a great national policy)

The cash proceeds arising from the public domain have been absorbed by the reclamation fund as fast as realized. Has this source been exhausted? No, after 300 years of land settlement Uncle Sam still owns a public estate about equal to the entire cost of the World War. Secretary Fall, in his annual report, puts the figure at \$150,000,000,000! And he estimates that total future royalties from coal, oil, phosphate and potash alone should yield to the Treasury a sum in excess of the amount due the United States from European nations, as follows:

Coal royalties	\$5,900,000,000
Oil royalties	175,000,000
Oil shale royalties.....	5,000,000,000
Phosphate royalties	280,000,000
Potash royalties	30,000,000
Alaska coal royalties.....	1,000,000,000
Alaska oil royalties.....	2,500,000
	<hr/>
	\$12,387,500,000

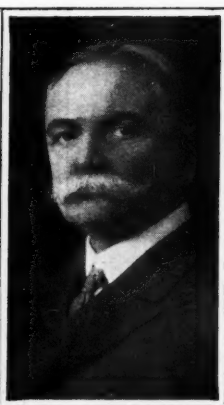
All that we can spend, when we get it! These figures take no account of vacant lands subject to entry, national forest lands and mineral in Indian reservations, estimated to be worth another \$7,000,000,000; nor of an annual income from water power, estimated at \$1,550,000.

Properly conserved, developed and utilized, there is wealth enough sleeping to-day in the public domain to restore the old beneficent homestead policy in its original

vigor, and to buttress America against all the storms of the future. But this wealth is potential and only to be made available gradually over coming generations. In the meantime the work must be begun, and there has been much diversity of opinion as to how that may best be done.

The Borah-Bankhead Bill

After three years of hard work, with innumerable conferences and committee hearings at Washington the minds of men have met in a concrete measure known as the Borah-Bankhead bill. While it calls for an initial appropriation from the Treasury to inaugurate the work, it looks for its large and permanent financial resources not to the Treasury, but to the sale of bonds issued by many reclamation districts in various parts of the United States. These district securities will be marketed by the Farm Loan Board, or some other governmental agency, after the districts have reached a certain stage of maturity, so that the value of the bonds will be unquestioned. The fund to be thus collected will in time take on huge proportions, as it is practically a revolving fund. It will be collected under the ordinary methods of taxation, and the bonds should be in all respects as good as municipal securities. Indeed, they should be better since they are secured by a kind of property



DOUGLAS W. ROSS, C. E.
(Ardent advocate of the
new Homestead policy)

GEORGE H. MAXWELL
(Executive Chairman, Na-
tional Reclamation Ass'n)

TWO INFLUENTIAL LEADERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

which has an annual productive power often equal to the entire amount of the issue in a single year. The bonds, however, run over a period of forty years.

The model of the proposed district organizations has been worked out by many years of Western experience, especially in California, where such securities rank high and are authorized collateral for loans of public funds. The Borah-Bankhead bill calls for an initial appropriation of \$500,000,000 to be expended over a period of ten years, beginning with \$30,000,000 in 1922, but to be repaid in full.

The bill commits the entire administrative work to the Secretary of the Interior, who will act through the United States Reclamation Service. The head of this service, Director Arthur P. Davis, one of the greatest of American engineers, will assume, under the terms of this act, the largest responsibility toward the homemakers of the future. This will be true because the bill contemplates not merely reclamation in the sense of irrigating the desert, draining swamps, clearing cut-over lands, and re-fertilizing the exhausted soil of abandoned districts, but building upon the California model it proposes the organization of communities and a large measure of assistance in making the settler's improvements and inaugurating his economic and social life.

It is just here that we get away from the old discredited and disintegrating forms of rural experience which have been sending the people away from the farms to the overcrowded cities and towns. The best models

of rural settlement not only in this, but in many foreign countries, are demonstrating that it is possible to create conditions which will attract people not "back," but "forward" to the land.

This measure is the logical development of the Soldier Settlement policy initiated by the late Franklin K. Lane when Secretary of the Interior. While not exclusively for the benefit of ex-service men, it gives them a preference in selecting farm allotments.

Another pending measure is popularly known as the Smoot "Rural Homes Bill." This is unique in the fact that it does not call for the appropriation of one single dollar from the Treasury, either now or at any future time. It asks the Government only to show the way, and would look entirely to private capital, or the sale of district reclamation bonds, to finance its operations. The work would be done by the Reclamation Service through the Secretary of the Interior. In its practical operations it would be much like the policy of reclamation and land settlement which has been in operation in Utah during the past seventy years, with the important difference that the leadership would be that of the Government instead of the church.

The Perils of Delay

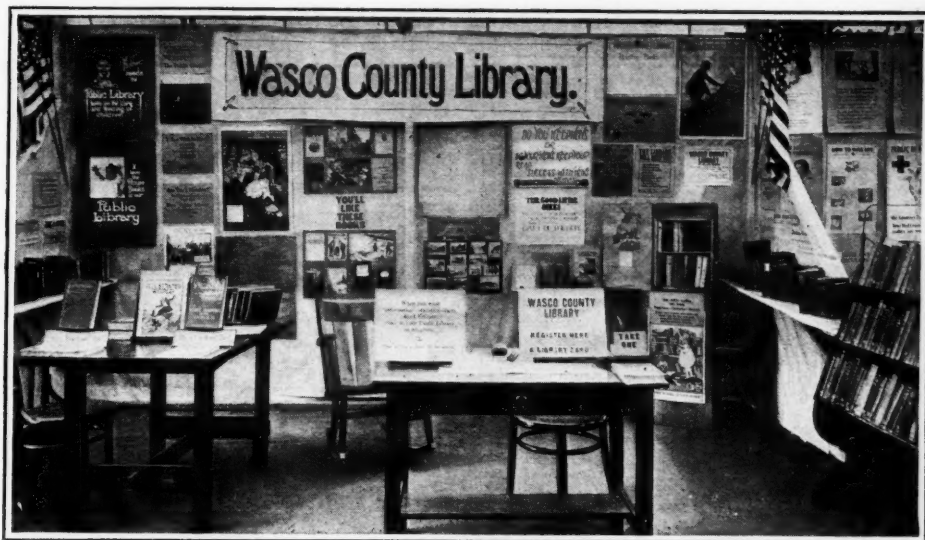
The present national Administration, like the one that preceded it, is strongly in favor of the new homestead policy. Secretary Fall, though far from an hysterical advocate of public ownership of any kind, recently said in a speech in Idaho:

It is the kind of work I like to see the Government engaged in. I feel we are getting something for the money we expend here. In this line—reclamation work—I believe the Government is greatly efficient.

President Harding, in his December message, acclaimed the success of the reclamation policy and advocated its prompt extension to swamp and cut-over lands.

Even so, there is grave danger of delay in getting the plan under way in time to meet the nation's need.

The men who have waged the battle for a new and greater homestead policy know what they are fighting for. It is not merely for a greater food supply when that shall be needed, nor for any form of material prosperity. It is for an America made invulnerable against her enemies within and without—an America forever free from the shadow of revolution.



THE WASCO COUNTY FAIR LIBRARY EXHIBIT AT THE DALLES, OREGON

COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS FOR BETTER BOOKS

BY MARJORIE SHULER

"THE people of this community must be given higher standards of values for book-buying. They have been over long at the too tender and too sentimental mercies of the itinerant book-agent. We must do something." So the women of Corvallis, Oregon, decided recently.

The "something" which they determined upon was a "book fair." They wrote to libraries for lists of good books. They scoured the surrounding country for first editions. They borrowed sets of volumes and good publications of every kind. The books which they secured they listed in twenty-six divisions, including history, travel, home economics, industry, fiction, poetry. Twenty-six committees of women were organized, one for each division. And each committee collected all of the information it could find in order to be able to talk intelligently upon the books in its division.

The books were displayed in the largest church in town during the week of the agricultural fair, and 9000 persons came to see them, townspeople and rural people, business men and housewives and children. The visitors saw the rows and rows of worthwhile publications. They listened to the

information given by the women in charge of the various divisions. And they went away with lists of books whose purchase will enrich that community throughout the years to come.

It had been said that Corvallis was "not a book-buying community." To-day the sale of books in the town has been quadrupled, and so much interest has been developed that the local newspaper has established a department of book review.

The Corvallis "book fair" is only one of many campaigns for better books, campaigns which are worth describing for the suggestions and encouragement they offer to other communities.

Women's Leadership

Women occupy leading positions in most of these campaigns. It has been estimated that 80 per cent. of the libraries in New York State were started by women, and that every library in the State of Oklahoma save nine was begun through the efforts of women. Very simple have been the beginnings of most of these efforts. In one Kentucky town the women's club began to buy books for the use of its own members.



THE WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND, FREE LIBRARY IS ADDING LIBRARY PRIVILEGES TO THE JOYS OF COUNTRY LIVING

Gradually the club collected a bookcase full of volumes. The members of the club found that they were profiting greatly by reading these volumes, and they wanted to share what they were getting with the rest of the community. The club had no money, but it did what many another women's organization has done. It bought an old house on faith and proceeded to pay for it out of oyster suppers and holiday bazaars, and entertainments of all kinds. To-day that library has between eight and nine thousand volumes, and the building itself is a community center used for all sorts of activities.

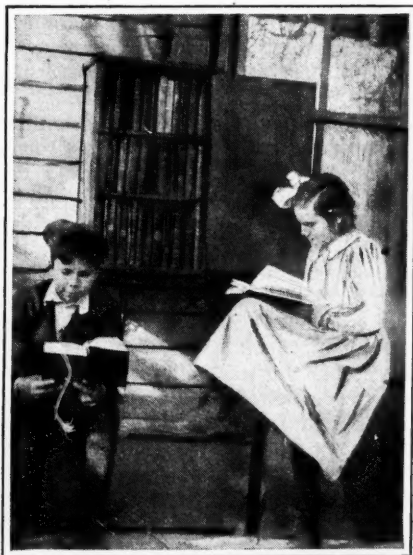
Caney Creek Community Center, Pippa-pass, Knott County, Kentucky, has as its founder and resident executive a woman, Mrs. Alice Spencer Geddes Lloyd. The center, according to the American Library Association, is the sole and only supply for reading matter for several counties. Ten thousand volumes have been collected, and the Kentucky Library Commission, of which Miss Fannie C. Rawson is secretary, has sent organizers to put the collection in order and to install modern library methods of administration. Every bit of the work is done by the resident group of mountaineers. In addition to the main collection free libraries are maintained in thirty-eight schools and three community centers, and individual books are mailed to readers, each wrapper

having on one side the address of the reader and on the reverse side the address of the library, so that the book may be easily returned.

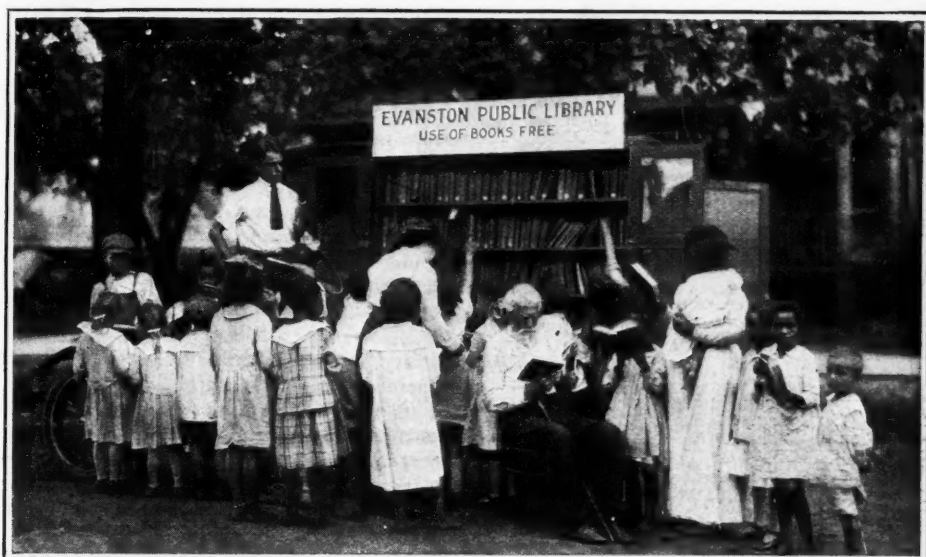
Thirteen years ago in Charlestown, West Virginia, the Kanawha Literary Club of twenty women collected books, secured a room and opened a library. The community became interested, and to-day nearly \$200,000 has been subscribed to make an adequate library a reality.

With no free public library in Altoona, Pennsylvania, the children in one of the most thickly populated districts formerly had little to amuse, interest or instruct them other than the schools. Their need for books, which by right belonged to them, was recognized by a woman, Mrs. Paul Kreutzpointer, who assembled a collection of books in her kitchen and invited the children of the neighborhood to use the room freely.

The history of the extension department of the New York City Public Library, of which Miss Mary Frank is chief, is interwoven with such stories of the work of women. In the outlying Williamsbridge section a few years ago a woman applied for one of the collections of a dozen books which the main institution was sending out as "home libraries." This woman, Mrs. Peterson, invited the members of her club



A DEPOSIT STATION AT A FARMHOUSE ON THE ROUTE OF THE WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND, FREE LIBRARY'S BOOK WAGON



THE FREE USE OF BOOKS AS STIMULATED AND PROMOTED BY THE EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, PUBLIC LIBRARY

to come into her home and read the books or take them away for circulation. Then she enlarged upon her invitation. She secured more books from the main library, and she invited the whole community to use her home as a branch library. There were books for boys in the kitchen, where muddy feet would do the least damage. There were books for girls in the dining-room. There were books for adults in the living-room. Then Mrs. Peterson started a petition to the city Board of Estimate for an appropriation to rent a store. The money was granted and to-day Williamsbridge has one of the most active branches of the New York City Public Library.

There are more than 400 such agencies served by the New York institution, including offices, factories, fire and police stations, and community centers. A policeman said recently, "You don't know how often a book has saved me a five-spot. If I have a good book, I don't need to hunt for amusement."

Cleveland's Bond Issue

The Cleveland Public Library, which is one of the very few large libraries to have at its head a woman, Miss Linda Eastman, has just gone through a community campaign of considerable size and interest. At the last municipal election the library asked the citizens to vote for a bond issue of

\$2,000,000. Men and women joined in a spirited four-weeks' campaign, during which a corps of volunteer speakers was trained and provided with material for speeches, 10,000 window cards were placed in shops, and thousands of circulars were placed by shopkeepers in packages. Films were shown in the moving-picture houses, publicity was furnished in the newspapers and the bulletins of churches and other organizations, posters were placed on buildings, and windshield stickers were put on automobiles. In addition there was a house-to-house canvass with the distribution of thousands of circulars. During the last week of the campaign there was driven through the city a truck carrying a huge book with campaign slogans in giant type. On Election Day sample ballots were distributed to the voters.

In spite of the fact that the city is close to the limit established for its bonded indebtedness, and in spite of the fact that the general slogan of the candidates in the election was retrenchment, the bond issue was carried by a majority of more than 20,000 votes. The votes cast on the issue were 140,484, the largest number in the entire election, save in the contest for mayor. The one other bond issue proposed at the same election, \$2,000,000 for the criminal courts and jail building, was overwhelmingly defeated for the fourth time.

Underwriting Evanston's Library

When the Evanston, Illinois, Public Library found that a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. reduction in the last tax levy would reduce its maintenance funds below the level of five years ago, although in that time the population of the city had increased 35 per cent. and the circulation of the library had almost doubled, it is significant that the first appeal to the public was made at a meeting of the Woman's Club.

The Evanston Commercial Association offered to underwrite the library for \$20,000 for two years, the money to be raised through a campaign, illustrating the co-operation between men's and women's organizations which results in the best type of community service.

A committee composed of representatives of forty local organizations was formed. Within a few weeks a house-to-house canvass and the contributions of organizations had yielded the sum needed for 1921 and pledges of \$3000 on the 1922 allotment. Every section in the community participated in the campaign. The various foreign groups gave dances and entertainments, and the negro church contributed one of its Sunday collections. Especially valuable publicity was given, one newspaper carrying sixty-eight columns of feature stories, news articles, editorials and advertisements.

The Indianapolis Campaign

There is another interesting story of community achievement through the co-operation of men and women voters in Indianapolis, where the Public Library conducted a campaign recently at a cost of \$200 and gained a \$10,000 emergency fund from the Board of School Commissioners, the official promise of an additional one cent for books in the next tax levy, the gift of 32,500 books, \$1250 in money, much publicity, an aroused sense of public responsibility for the library, new readers, the stimulation of individual book-giving between persons, several bequests of valuable collections and the promise of memorials and bequests of money.

The appeal of the library was made through organizations, in 140 newspaper articles and by letters, posters and leaflets. A clever scheme was devised for the letters, those sent to each organization stressing the need for books along the special lines in

which that group is interested. To patriotic organizations there was presented the need for Americanization books. Scientific societies were advised that technical books were much in demand. Women's clubs were reminded that books suitable for their own study courses and for the use of children were wanted.

A bookplate was designed and donors were advised that in each book given there would be pasted a bookplate bearing the name of the giver. This was said to have "aroused the giving instinct to a frenzy." A big waterproof box was placed in the library grounds for the receiving of books. There was a little "book house," each shingle of its roof representing a special children's book. Through the chimney of the house more than \$50 was dropped. A miniature well with a "bucket for ducats" was placed in the main delivery room of the library, and in it more than \$30 was collected. There were all sorts of community efforts, including a concert given by a musical organization, at which \$500 for books was raised, with the stipulation that part of the money be used for the purchase of music books.

Libraries on Wheels

Some of the most interesting community campaigns have been to secure transportation facilities by which to send books into the outlying districts. The Washington County Free Library at Hagerstown, Maryland, is an outstanding illustration of a successful library on wheels. Beginning with a horse and wagon, the service has been developed until to-day there is in use a great truck which carries 500 books, six cases for stations and a number of school-library collections.

The Stuntz Township Library Bus, which carries books from the mining town of Hibbing, over 160 miles of the Minnesota Iron Range, already has more than justified its original cost. The bus is watched for eagerly by the children, by the women, and by the men in camps or at home.

In one recent week the requests by miners at a camp included "Bolshevism" by Spargo, "Whistle Signals" for the craneman, "Tess of the d'Urbervilles," and a Serbian-English primer, in addition to the demands of a Thackeray enthusiast, and a man with a hobby for Dumas.

THE OPIUM QUESTION

BY ELIZABETH WASHBURNE WRIGHT

[Since the death of her husband, Dr. Hamilton Wright, in 1917, Mrs. Wright has been the foremost American in the fight to rid the world of the opium evil. She is one of three experts attached to the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations.—THE EDITOR]

IT is to be regretted that the United States failed to take advantage of the recent international conference held at Washington to state specifically its position in regard to the opium question. It was impossible to deal fairly with the Chinese situation and omit opium, which touches China at every angle—morally, physically, and economically.

By eliminating the discussion of opium not only did the United States lose an opportunity of explaining its position, but the Chinese were likewise prevented from stating their case and placing the blame for the recrudescence of the poppy upon the shoulders of the lawless tuchuns who are directly responsible for the breaking of China's international pledges and for the consequent criticism leveled against her. It also robbed China of the chance of a direct appeal to the United States for international cooperation in putting the opium convention of 1912 into effect. This assistance was promised her by all the powers meeting at The Hague, but by their failure to ratify the convention China was left alone to fight the selfish interests that under cover of the war flooded the country with drugs.

The failure to introduce the opium question was due largely to fear on the part of the delegates that its presentation would create friction and ill-feeling—that it would mean the turning-back to unpleasant pages of past history—or to a free discussion of the present situation, which would lead to equal embarrassment. A further disinclination was disclosed on the part of certain European powers, which were opposed to the introduction of a question already entrusted to the League of Nations.

The introduction of the opium question would have resulted in neither conflict nor embarrassment. The world does not hold men of to-day responsible for the faults of their great-grandfathers.

As for the present situation, it was, as a matter of fact, superficially and on its outer edge approached by the Conference with the

giving back to the Chinese of their post-offices recently in control of Japan—and through which great quantities of drugs have been introduced into China. This touched, however, but the very fringe of the problem, though it gave an opportunity for wider discussion had the Conference so desired.

It was not the intention of those most intimate with the problem to burden the Conference with the past history or present complications of the opium question. It was felt, however, that such a gathering of the powers would afford the United States an admirable opportunity of reaffirming her interest in the question and of making clear her position in regard to its future direction.

The giving back of the post-offices was of minor importance, as this is but one channel through which drugs are pouring into China to-day. Drugs are smuggled from India across Yunnan, from Japan, through Manchuria, and over the Siberian border. Until recently—and it is still to be questioned if this trade has been entirely checked—they were brought from America and Great Britain. Also, while Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore are allowed to import opium without restraint, the whole world will be open to infection.

In 1905 the Philippine Government abolished its opium monopoly and passed a law to prevent the importation of the drug into the country. But as the Governor-General in a recent report states: "However zealously the insular government enforces this law, however successful the campaign, it is evident that international regulation of the traffic must be invoked and another Opium Congress convened. Each country should consider the laws and regulations of the other, and restrict the maintenance of moral nuisances detrimental to civilization, and certainly destined to bring about a reign of corruption and debasement in the territories of a neighbor."

America has passed more legislation than any other country, but is still without a law

to restrict the importation of raw opium—nor has she placed any restriction upon the quantity of the drug to be manufactured. To-day America consumes more drugs per capita than any other country. In 1908 it was discovered that while Germany, with a population of seventy-seven millions, was importing 16,000 pounds of opium a year and Italy, with a population of 33,000,000 was importing 6000 pounds a year, the United States was importing 400,000 pounds a year. This relative scale was very significant and restrictive laws were at once passed by the United States to check the traffic. But all the legislation in the world will not protect America or any country from the evil of drugs while the cultivation of the poppy is allowed to go unchecked. This question must be met at its source. The cultivation of the poppy must be restricted to its medical requirements, and the opium monopolies of the Far East must be abandoned. That a people should thrive on their own moral and physical degradation is a paradox and an untenable principle of taxation.

Restriction of Production

There is no desire ruthlessly to destroy the economic foundations of the East, but the public opinion of the world demands that some other measure of taxation be substituted for that which so long has offended the public conscience. There is no drug of greater value to humanity than opium when legitimately used—and for this drug there must ever be an honest need. It is obvious that as the cultivation of the poppy is suppressed the price of the drug will automatically ascend, and that opium will ever remain a large item of revenue to the countries best qualified to produce it.

India, Turkey, Persia, and once more China, are to-day the great poppy-growing countries of the world. All these countries are bound by international obligations to restrict their production. And international action alone can see that these obligations are enforced. Therefore the sooner some tangible machinery is set in motion with which the United States can associate itself, the sooner the world can hope for some solution to this hundred-year-old problem.

International Coöperation

The United States cannot shirk its responsibility in regard to the opium question. President Roosevelt in 1908 brought it to

the foreground of world discussion when he summoned an international commission to meet in Shanghai to study the question with the hope of arriving at some solution. This meeting was followed by three international conferences held at The Hague. By the leadership of the United States and the admirable coöperation of the rest of the world the problem was fast nearing its solution when it was abruptly checked by the outbreak of the war. In fact by 1914 every nation in the world save two had evinced its willingness to put the convention of 1912 into effect. This meant the simultaneous application of similar laws throughout the world, by which debasing drugs would have been subjected to world-wide restriction and ultimate suppression, save for legitimate purposes.

The war, which swept away the constructive efforts of generations, was responsible as well for the disintegration of the opium movement. Selfish nations and interests took advantage of the general chaos to enrich themselves at China's expense, thus nullifying much of that country's admirable effort to rid herself of the opium evil.

During the last year of the war the United States made an effort to bring the opium question again before the world, as the failure to enforce the convention of 1912 had reacted disastrously upon the health of the fighting men. The responsibility of nations to protect their armies from the menace of drugs became apparent and the signing of the Protocol at The Hague and the enforcement of the Opium Convention were taken up as war measures. But before definite results could accrue the armistice was called. It was then suggested that the matter be brought before the international conference about to be called in Paris, Great Britain quoting as precedent the Congress of Vienna in 1815, at which England had proposed the abolition of slavery.

Opium and the League of Nations

To understand the present situation it is necessary to sketch very briefly the steps that followed. The opium question was introduced into the Versailles Treaty under Article 295, by which the signing of the Treaty became equivalent to the signing of the Protocol opened at The Hague for the purpose of putting the opium convention of 1912 into effect. This was admirable. But under Article 23 of the Covenant the jurisdiction of the opium question was entrusted

to the League of Nations. This at once suggested complications. For although at that time it was felt that the United States would ultimately cooperate with the League so far as questions of health and matters free from political complications were concerned, her attitude was still problematical.

In May, 1921, the Opium Committee appointed by the League of Nations held its meeting in Geneva. On this committee were representatives of nations primarily interested in the opium trade—Great Britain, India, China, Japan, Siam, Portugal, France and Holland. To this committee were added three experts, or assessors, chosen because of their knowledge of the subject and irrespective of nationality. Of these assessors one was British, one French, and one American.

The United States was urged by the League to send a direct representative, as it was realized that no definite results could be obtained without complete international cooperation. The refusal of America to participate at once introduced legal complications. The committee of the League derived its power through the action of the Netherlands Government in transferring to it the authority conferred upon that government by the opium convention of 1912. This was an international treaty to which the United States was a party. Without the consent of the parties signatory to the treaty the Netherlands Government could not well transfer its power to any other government or association. This was done, however, in November, 1920, when it was assumed that America would participate in the discussion of a purely non-political question.

The point is, of course, obvious. While the Geneva Committee may send out questionnaires and gather data and can make suggestions as to the carrying out of the convention, it must always be hampered by the fact that it has not complete international authority behind it or the power to enforce its recommendations. That is, should it attempt to press unpopular restrictions, which for selfish reasons a country opposed, that country has but to refute its interpretation of the convention or its authority to enforce it.

As a matter of fact, since the adjournment of the Committee last summer two nations have already refused to accept its authority. Serbia, as well as India, stoutly disputes the right of the Committee to send a commission of investigation into the opium-growing countries, on the ground that this

would be "an invasion of the sovereign rights of states."

It is therefore apparent that unless this committee is fortified with more authority and complete international backing it must break down. At present it represents the only working machinery with which to bring about the suppression of a very great evil. But without proper direction such an instrument can easily fall into the hands of selfish interests and the good already accomplished be undone. The chief asset of this committee is that it is to be a permanent body and will function until the problem is satisfactorily solved. It represents also an international focus without which a question of this sort can never be approached.

If the United States feels that it cannot cooperate with this committee without committing itself to the political principles of the League of Nations, it should at once suggest an alternative. It is not enough to approach the opium question indirectly through the medium of the Netherlands Foreign Office. The intermittent attention of foreign offices is no longer sufficient to cope with this very pressing and practical problem. Some such committee as that sitting at Geneva must be established somewhere with the intention of functioning until the problem is solved.

America's Responsibility

But first of all America has very definite responsibilities toward the opium question which she cannot continue to ignore. Not only is she internationally under obligations to see the Opium Convention broadly interpreted and carried out, but she is responsible for the conditions in China, whose interests and rights she originally asserted she would protect. More than that, she is responsible for the welfare of her own people, whose safety is being threatened by the ever-increasing menace of drugs.

Previous to the war and during the period of America's active interest in the movement a series of laws was passed to protect the people of the United States. But since the war there has been great apathy and indifference shown toward the whole movement. Not only are we accused in Europe of having lost all interest in the opium question, but at home we are criticized because of not enforcing the laws which already exist.

Once again, it seems unfortunate that the United States failed to take advantage of the recent conference to define its position and reassume its leadership.

HENRY STEAD OF AUSTRALIA

THERE came from the Antipodes several weeks ago the news that Henry Stead, Editor of *Stead's Review* of Melbourne, Australia, had died at sea. Mr. Stead had attended the International Press Congress at Honolulu in the early autumn and had planned to join the group of foreign journalists at Washington for the Conference on Armament Limitation and Pacific and Far Eastern Problems. Illness, however, detained him at San Francisco, and he decided that he must return to his family in Australia without fulfilling his plans to visit Washington, New York, and London, which would have required a complete trip around the world—the last stages of his journey being by way of Suez. His death occurred on December 10, some days before the S.S. *Marama* on which he had sailed reached the nearest Australian port.

Mr. Stead was a son of the late William T. Stead, who lost his life in the *Titanic* disaster on April 14, 1912. The father had been devoted to the cause of international peace, and his foremost object in embarking on the *Titanic* was to attend a peace meeting in this country and in other ways to join in movements to promote international goodwill. William T. Stead, more than any other man, had proclaimed the doctrine of Anglo-American coöperation, and the necessity for harmony and for a growing intimacy throughout the English-speaking world. He had founded the *English Review of Reviews* at the beginning of the year 1890, and he had encouraged the founding of the *American Review of Reviews* one year later, co-operating with this periodical until his death.

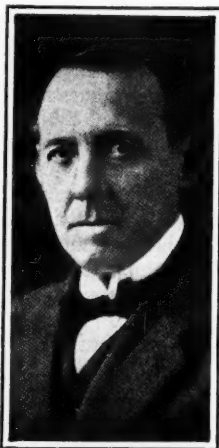
Mr. Henry Stead had received a good editorial training in his father's office in

London, and had spent some months in his youth with us in New York, the better to learn American ways. Meanwhile, Mr. William T. Stead had established an *Australian Review of Reviews* in charge of an Australian editor. As one of the changes resulting from the founder's death in 1912, Mr. Henry Stead went out to Melbourne to conduct the Australian periodical. After a few years he changed its name, and it became *Stead's Review*. He wrote of current questions with marked ability and independence. He had not only earned the respect of Australians for his courage and power as a journalist, but he had won confidence and affection in unusual measure.

Australians, in the very nature of things, are intensely interested in the affairs of the world. They feel their detachment by reason of great distance from Europe and America; but they are the more deeply resolved to build up Anglo-Saxon institutions and to create a future that shall be in full accord with that of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. They have not only an intense interest in all that pertains to the progress of civilization, but they are exceedingly sensitive to everything that happens in what the diplomatists at Washington have been calling the "regions of the Pacific." Their participation in the great war was upon so generous a scale as to have won for them the eternal gratitude of the British Islands, the esteem and admiration of France and Belgium, and the fraternal good-will of the United States and Canada.

Thus Australia and New Zealand were prominent and influential in the peace conference at Paris following the armistice, and in the Imperial Conference at London last summer. Although their delegates have been associated directly with those of Great Britain in the conference at Washington, the interest of Australia and New Zealand in all the questions that have been discussed at Washington has not for a moment been forgotten and has indeed been protected by very able representatives.

The whole world has been turning its attention to the Pacific Ocean with its thousands of islands, and Mr. Henry Stead had acquired such knowledge and experience that



MR. HENRY STEAD

he was fitted to play an influential part in the shaping of British policies south of the Equator. The following brief article is one that he had recently written for *Stead's*

Review, and it will bring to the notice of our readers some new questions that are now concerning the people who are shaping the destinies of Australasia.

BRITAIN'S PACIFIC ISLANDS DOMINION

BY HENRY STEAD

THE scheme for the federation of the scattered islands belonging to the British Empire in the Pacific has undoubtedly received considerable impetus owing to events which have occurred during the last few months. First of all, there is the natural resentment aroused against Australia in Fiji by legislation which has ruined one of the most prosperous industries of the country; second, there is the object lesson being given by both New Zealand and Australia of their inability to handle tropic lands and peoples.

The planters of Fiji ask why the Australian Commonwealth should deliberately exclude Fijian bananas for the benefit of a dozen returned soldiers, who are trying the experiment of growing this fruit in New South Wales. It simply means that the price of bananas will rise in Australia, and the real people to benefit will be the Chinese and Italians who handle the fruit in the Commonwealth. Because of the tariff put on by the Federal Parliament, banana groves are being cut down everywhere in Fiji, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of persons are losing their ordinary means of livelihood. If, argue those in favor of confederation, all the separate groups of islands were bound together in a single Dominion, this reckless sort of legislation on the part of Australia could be stopped, for there are things the Commonwealth must have from the islands—things which she would not get until she undertook, on her part, to treat them fairly.

But the strongest incentive to confederation is the fear that, unless some sort of a union is consummated, the danger of this, that or the other group being swallowed by Australia or New Zealand is increasingly great. Already there is more than talk of the annexation of the Solomons to Papua; when Tonga loses its nominal independence, it is said that New Zealand will claim it.

If there is one thing the islanders dread more than any other it is to be taken over either by the Dominion or the Commonwealth. The sorry exhibition of New Zealand administration in Samoa, and of Australian in German New Guinea, must indeed make every planter and landowner in the islands of the South Seas pray fervently that his country may escape the benevolent overlordship of either of these Dominions!

It is safe to say that the terrible muddle being made by Australia in German New Guinea has definitely ended all chance of the Solomon Islands ever joining Papua. The administration of Judge Murray in that country was the strongest argument in favor of any group of islands in the Pacific coming under the Australian flag, but the doings of the inexperienced administrators in German New Guinea have shattered the idea that tropic territories could be well governed by Australians.

Failure in Samoa

In Samoa New Zealand appears to be making almost exactly the same mistakes. The experienced German planters were expropriated and driven away, their plantations were taken charge of by quite inexperienced men, who have no personal interest in their being kept in good condition. The result is in Samoa, as in German New Guinea, that the splendid plantations we took from the Germans are rapidly deteriorating. Labor cannot be obtained. The Samoan does not work. The Germans did not compel him to. He grows enough to live on, the climate is kind, his wants are few. Why should he labor for others when he already has all he needs? The Germans introduced Solomon Islanders, and later Chinese, under indenture. The New Zealand Government naturally had to restrict the importation of indentured workers.

Recruiting in the Solomons is now difficult, and the result is that lack of laborers completes the debacle which inexperienced men have begun. It would have been infinitely better, in both mandated territories, if the German planters had been left in charge with, say, a half-interest in the plantations. As it is, the men who planted and tended the coconut groves have been driven forth penniless, almost in rags, and their plantations are being allowed to go to rack and ruin as speedily as possible. There are, of course, exceptions, but there appears to be no doubt that the assumption of complete control by New Zealand in Samoa and by Australia in New Guinea has brought nothing but disaster—has not resulted in that immediate amelioration of the condition of the natives to achieve which we were assured was the real reason why these territories were wrested from the Germans.

Government of the Islands

Seeing all this happen before their eyes, the white men in the Pacific Islands pray earnestly that they may avoid a like fate and escape being annexed by New Zealand or Australia. The White Australia policy may be a great ideal, but it will never do in the tropical islands. The problems to be met there are of a nature which an official nurtured on the White Australia idea is utterly incapable of handling.

In the opinion of many of the best-informed men both in the islands and in lands washed by the Pacific, nothing but ill would follow annexation by Australia or New Zealand. On the other hand, they hold that only by uniting together can these islanders escape that ultimate fate. "United we stand, divided we fall" is their motto. There is no doubt whatever that a confederation of the islands would have many advantages, but it would have disadvantages as well. The whites of the islands would, I fear, not consider the natives as carefully as they should, but that might be overcome by special safeguards in the constitution. Then, as a Dominion, the islands would after all have small voice in international affairs, and it might easily happen that the loss of the direct Imperial connection might not be compensated for by freedom of action by the islands when they become a self-governing dominion.

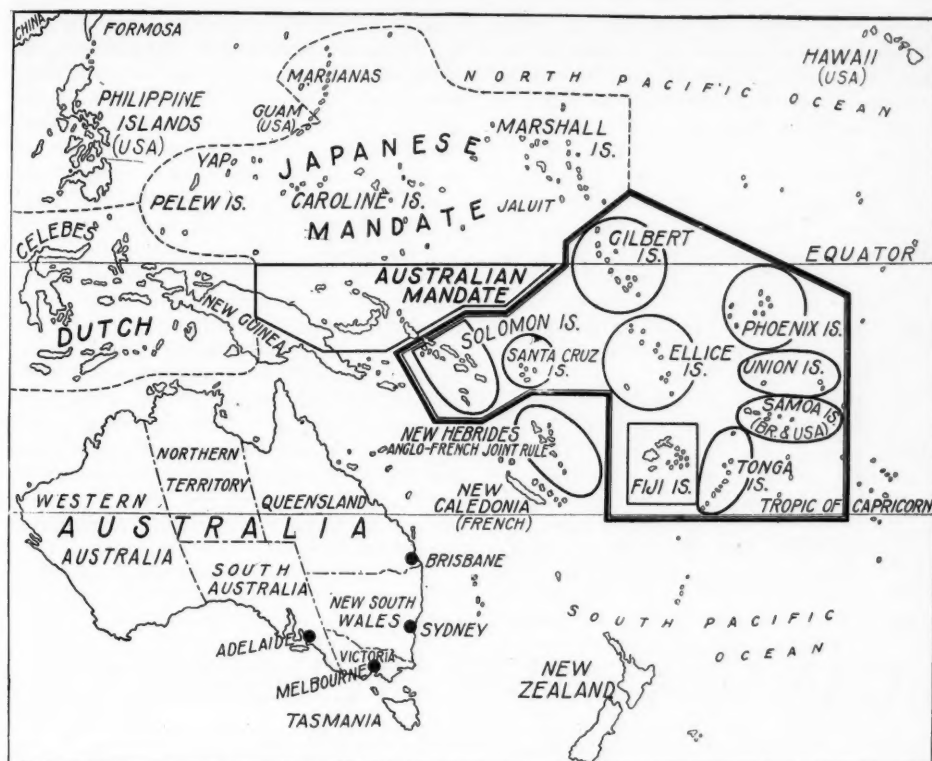
At present each group of islands in the Pacific appears to be governed in a different way. Fiji has a constitution, and is ruled

by an Executive Council, which consists entirely of nominees of the Governor; and a Legislative Council, of which only seven of the twenty-one members are elected. Eleven are nominated by the Governor, and there are two native members nominated on the recommendation of the Native Council of Chiefs. An Indian member has recently been added. The official element, as in all Crown colonies, dominates the position.

Tonga, the group nearest to Fiji, is ruled over by a native monarch, but there is a British consul and a British agent resident there. Samoa is governed by New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations. Recently the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were formed into a single Crown colony, but they are more or less controlled by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who is the Governor of Fiji. Ocean Island is similarly controlled, but Nauru is under a government composed of a commission of three representatives, one from Australia, one from New Zealand, and one from Great Britain. The Solomon Islands are restive under the control of the Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and at one time might have united with Papua, but of that there is now no hope whatever.

Confederation

Ultimately, it is hoped that all the islands of the Western Pacific will join the proposed confederation, but efforts are being made to begin with Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, which lie close together. These have all the same problems to solve. They have the same labor difficulties, and they produce the same things. It is contended that, if there were one form of government for the three groups, they would benefit immensely, both economically and commercially. The Interstate Trade Commission, which inquired into Pacific problems some years ago, condemned the lack of cohesion in the various governments of the islands, and urged that there should be greater supervision and co-ordination. This Commission, by the way, advocated that this control should be exercised from Sydney—a proposal the islands will have nothing to do with! No doubt the first step toward federation would be the creation of a customs union, and the next the establishment of better communications between the island groups and a direct service between Fiji, as the commercial center, and England. That, it is true, has been established at last, steamers of the



ISLANDS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC WHICH, IT IS PROPOSED, SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO A NEW PACIFIC ISLANDS DOMINION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE—THOSE WITHIN THE HEAVY LINES

Commonwealth line calling there on their way to Europe, but no one knows what is going to happen to Mr. Hughes' steamers. Education systems would be unified; there would be a judicial Court of Appeal, and there would be uniform quarantine and health laws.

Obviously the very first thing to be done would be to hold a convention, at which the representatives of the various island groups could discuss the matter and come to some conclusion as to the advantages which would follow better communications, uniform labor laws, and the like, brought about by federation. A beginning has been made in Fiji where, last April, the elected members of the Legislative Council unanimously carried the following resolution:

That, in the opinion of this Council, the interests of the Empire in the Pacific would best be served by a Confederation of British Islands of the Western Pacific, governed and controlled from a common center.

This resolution was then formally con-

veyed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, his approval thereto being respectfully asked. That resolution is the first official move in the campaign for the creation of an Islands Dominion. The next will be made when the reply of Mr. Churchill is received.

The labor problems which confront the planters in all the Pacific Islands are very similar. As the plantations develop, as new industries are started, there is everywhere a notable lack of labor. The islanders themselves cannot, certainly will not, supply it. Therefore, it is necessary, if industries are to be fostered, that outside laborers be introduced. This was done in Fiji, where Indians were brought over under indenture, which allowed them to remain and settle after they had served a certain number of years. This system led to such grave abuses that in the end the Indian Government refused to allow any more of its subjects to leave the country under indenture to Fiji. Now the Fijian planters are seeking to recruit free labor in India, and with some

success. It must be remembered that, though the conditions that existed in the coolie lines in Fiji seemed horrible to us, once the Indian had completed his years of service, he was able to settle down in a comfort he had never known in his own land. There are some 60,000 Indians in Fiji, but only 10,000 are working in the plantations. The rest are otherwise engaged on their own business. They are cultivating land, running shops, driving motor cars for hire, doing any number of lucrative things and thriving withal—doing far better indeed than they could possibly have hoped to have done in India itself.

It ought surely to be possible to arrange for a systematic Indian migration to the islands where labor is required. The Indians stand the climate well, they make on the whole good workers, and they remain in the country to help develop it when they cease working in the plantations and sugar mills. The chief objection to the indenture

system in Fiji, as everywhere, was the low proportion of women who were allowed to accompany the men. This led to endless abuse, but the free workers should be allowed to bring their women folk with them. True, in the end, the islands would be peopled chiefly with Indians, who would speedily outnumber the natives, as they already do in Fiji; but it would be better to have Indian-peopled islands in the Pacific than islands peopled by Japanese or Chinese, which is the alternative if their great resources are to be developed.

If there were an Islands Dominion its legislators could solve the labor problem on sound lines and, instead of the various inefficient systems at present operating, could arrange a definite policy for the whole of the Pacific. For that reason, if for no other, it is to be hoped that the dreams of those who would federate the British Islands will soon come true.

Honolulu, September 24, 1921.

CANADA'S NEW PARLIAMENT

BY HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K. B. E.

(Past-President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

THE Canadian Parliament elected on December 6 is likely to meet for its first session during March and the program of the newly chosen Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie King will be awaited with much interest not alone in that Dominion, but throughout the Empire, and also in the United States, because of the low-tariff, if not free-trade leaning of many of his supporters; and the prospect of its leading to reciprocity.

A Remarkable Overturn

The political upheaval in Canada three months ago, which resulted in the defeat of the Ministry of Hon. Arthur Meighen, was the most complete in the history of that country, the supporters of the late government who were elected numbering only fifty in a House of 235, whereas in 1917 (though the conditions were then abnormal, because it was a war-time election) the Union Government carried 153 seats against 82 won by the opposition, and in 1911 the Conservatives won 141 seats and the Liberals 94.

To make clear the reason for the tre-

mendous overturn of last December a brief explanation of the changes in Canada's political policy during the decade is necessary. In 1911 Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal Ministry, then in power, decided upon a policy of reciprocity with the United States, but partly because of the pro-British sentiment in Canada and partly because of certain incautious utterances of two prominent American party leaders as to making Canada an annex of the United States, the electorate revolted and returned the Conservatives, led by Mr. (subsequently Sir) Robert Borden, with a majority of forty-seven on a policy which was really that of cleaving to the mother country, though sarcastically described by its opponents as one of "flag-flapping."

Before another election was due the World War began, and after the outbreak of hostilities the party leaders twice agreed to extend the life of the sitting Parliament, which carried it on until 1917. Then the Liberals declined to endorse another extension; and Premier Borden, who had promised the imperial government to enact a

conscription measure to help the Empire in the emergency, reconstructed his Ministry and took in representative Liberals from different territories on a "win-the-war" policy, with the result that he carried every province except Quebec, which was very hostile to conscription. His following was entirely English-speaking, for he won only three seats in Quebec, the opposition consisting of sixty-two Quebec members and twenty Liberals scattered through the other eight provinces.

After the war ended Sir Robert Borden, whose health had been impaired by his war labors, resigned his post in the summer of 1920, and Mr. Meighen, chosen to succeed him, made a further reconstruction of the cabinet; and in the autumn of 1921, when he decided to appeal to the electorate for a renewal of power, he again changed its personnel somewhat. In this latter reconstruction he secured for the first time French-speaking Ministers from Quebec, who were nominated to certain posts, and whose inclusion was welcomed as healing the breach that had existed since the Borden Government, after the election of 1917, took stern measures to enforce the conscription law in that province.

Mackenzie King, New Liberal Leader

Sir Wilfrid Laurier died in February, 1919, and later a convention of the Liberal party elected as his successor Mr. Mackenzie King, who had been Minister of Labor in Laurier's Administration up to 1911, when he was defeated, as he was again in 1917. After being chosen leader he entered Parliament through a by-election in Prince Edward Island, and in the sessions of 1920 and 1921 filled the position of chief critic in the Commons Chamber. His following was strengthened by the fact that after the war several of the Liberals who had joined the government in 1917 felt that their mandate was terminated and withdrew from it, to rejoin their own party, while during these years also another political group had come into being, especially in the West the Farmers' Party, latterly broadened into the "Progressives."

The Farmers, or Progressives

The farmers, banding themselves together, had won the provincial election in Ontario, and had shown tremendous strength in contests in the other Western provinces. They were headed by Mr. T. A. Crerar, who had

been Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Government, but resigned on the ground that it was too protectionist in its leanings, he advocating a policy that was, broadly speaking, one of gradual tariff reduction tending to ultimate Free Trade.

Thus it came to be realized, during last year, that when an election took place there would be three parties in the field—the Conservatives (with the small element of Liberals who had joined them in 1917 and remained with them) favoring Protection; the Liberals, identified with a lower tariff; and the Progressives, showing a tendency toward the latter still more marked. It was contended in some quarters that no election should be held until after figures of the Census of 1921 had been given out, as these would show the West entitled to several more members; but against this, in turn, it was argued that this would involve a Redistribution Bill, and there was much doubt as to when that could be got through the House. So Premier Meighen advised a dissolution in October and an election in December, possibly feeling, as some critics opined, that the longer he held on the worse his plight might become for his majority in the House, through withdrawals and losses in by-elections, had been reduced to about twenty, and there were then six by-elections pending, defeat in which would shatter the prestige of the government utterly.

When the dissolution occurred, the prevailing view in Canada was that the Meighen Government was doomed, but that no party would get a clear majority, and that therefore "group government" would become inevitable, with two of the three elements combining to control the House; or, that there would be a further disruption and the making-up of new parties, the more reactionary among the Liberals joining with the Conservatives, and the radical Liberals and the Progressives uniting on the other side. These conclusions were based upon the probability that Quebec and the Maritime Provinces would go strongly Liberal, that the Prairie Provinces would be equally strong for the Farmers, and that in Ontario, the Conservative stronghold, that party's ascendancy would be reduced by the strength the Farmers had developed in the Provincial contest two years before.

This forecast was fairly accurate, but the Liberals did somewhat better than was expected and won just half the seats, enabling

them to organize the House, elect a Speaker, and assume definite control. They won every seat in Quebec (65), in Nova Scotia (16), and in Prince Edward Island (4), while the Farmers were almost equally successful in the Prairie Provinces. New Brunswick in the East and British Columbia in the West gave Conservative majorities; but Ontario proved the big surprise of the contest, the Farmers failing to maintain the hold they gained there in the Provincial election, and the Liberals getting as many seats as the Farmers—twenty-two each, the Conservatives securing only the remaining thirty-eight out of eighty-two seats, losing even in some of the cities, though their Protectionist policy was designed to appeal to the workman, if to anybody. This swing of Ontario toward Liberalism really decided the election and put Mr. King in the saddle, although with a very insecure hold, if there was any prospect of the two other groups combining, which, of course, there was not, the Progressives being even more hostile to the Conservatives than are the Liberals. At the end of December, when all the recounts had taken place, the strength of the parties was given as follows:

Liberals	118
Independents	2
Progressives	65
Conservatives	50
Total	235

Even counting the Independents with the Liberals, this majority would be too small for effective Parliamentary control, and as soon as he was invited to form an administration, it is understood, Mr. King opened negotiations with the Progressives to combine with him, offering them certain representation in the cabinet, but they decided against abandoning their separate identity, though undertaking to give him their support in enacting measures tending toward the goal at which they are aiming. With this backing the new Premier should find it possible to pursue a straighter course than he could otherwise have hoped to do; because, with the Conservatives only as the regular opposition—who number only fifty men and lack many of their leading figures, as no fewer than seven Cabinet Ministers were defeated—the possibilities for the new government putting through much useful legislation are greatly increased.

Free Trade as an Issue

The outcome of the election, of course, is not altogether due to the issue of Protection versus Free Trade, because many other factors entered into the struggle, and perhaps one of the largest contributories to the result was that of "hard times," the discontent and economic collapse due to unemployment finding expression in Canada, as elsewhere, in condemnation of the existing government and in a demand for a change. The task of the new government will not be an easy one. Canada carries an enormous war debt and has great difficulty to-day in making two ends meet. There is an insistent call for a reduction in the tariff and also for more employment. The farming industry, the mainstay of the Dominion, is suffering greatly from the shrinkage in prices the past two years, and the cities have thousands of workless men because factories are either on half time or shut down, since their products cannot be consumed on a war-time scale owing to the general set-back. These conditions dictate a policy of drastic economy by the government, as well as by the individual, and this is never popular except in theory.

In some quarters, especially in the West, it is expected that steps toward Free Trade may be taken. In other quarters a revival of reciprocity as an offset to the high-tariff plans of the Congress at Washington, as embodied in the Fordney measure, is thought possible. Other elements look for the development of more or less hostility in Canada-American relations through legislative measures to check Canadian purchases in the American market, and so stimulate home industry to an extent not now possible.

What will be the ultimate decision it is impossible to foreshadow, but certain it is that with the West looking for concessions to make the farmer's lot easier and with the East hoping for plans that will set the idle factory wheels turning again, the task before the new government and the new Parliament is not one to be lightly faced or easily disregarded. Probably most people are hoping that Premier King's chief lieutenant and Finance Minister, Hon. W. S. Fielding, who filled the same position under Laurier and was perhaps Canada's most successful occupant of that office, may be able to devise a scheme of tariff reform that, coupled with rigid economy, will satisfy all interests.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE WEST VIRGINIA COAL CONFLICT

THE report of Mr. Kenyon, as chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, on the long-continued troubles in the West Virginia coal fields, embodies a proposed code for regulating the coal industry. The twelve principles which Senator Kenyon sets forth as essential to peaceful relations between employers and employees in that industry are as follows:

1. Coal is a public utility, and in its production and distribution the public interest is predominant.

2. Human standards should be the constraining influence in fixing the wages and working conditions of mine workers.

3. Capital prudently and honestly invested in the coal industry should have an adequate return sufficient to stimulate and accelerate the production of this essential commodity.

4. The right of operators and miners to organize is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with in any manner whatsoever, nor shall coercive measures of any kind be used by employers or employees to exercise or to refrain from exercising this right.

5. The right of operators and of miners to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is recognized and affirmed.

6. The miners who are not members of a union have the right to work without being harassed

by fellow workmen who may belong to unions. The men who belong to a union have the right to work without being harassed by operators who do not believe in unionism. The organizations have a right to go into non-union fields and by peaceable methods try to persuade men to join the unions, but they have no right to try and induce employees to violate contracts which they have entered into with their employers, and the operators on the other hand have the right by peaceable means to try and persuade men to refrain from joining the unions.

7. The right of all unskilled or common laborers to earn an adequate living wage sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort and to afford an opportunity for savings against unemployment, old age and other contingencies is hereby declared and affirmed. Above this basic wage for unskilled workers, differentials in rates of pay for other mine workers shall be established for skill, experience, hazards or employment, and productive efficiency.

8. The right of women to engage in industrial occupations is recognized and affirmed; their rates of pay shall be the same as those of male workers for the same or equivalent service performed; they shall be accorded all the rights and guarantees granted to male workers, and the condition of their employment shall surround them with every safeguard of their health and strength and guarantee them the full measure of protection which is the debt of society to mothers and potential mothers. Few women are engaged

in any way in mining, but it may be as well to announce this proposition as to pass it by.

9. Children under the age of 16 years shall not be employed in the industry, unless permits have been issued under State authority.

10. Six days shall be the standard work week in the industry, with one day's rest in seven. The standard work day shall not exceed eight hours a day.

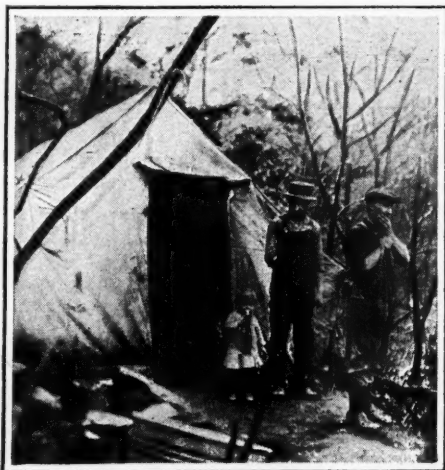
11. Punitive overtime shall be paid for hours worked each day in excess of the standard work day.

12. When a dispute or controversy arises between operators and mine workers, there shall be no strike or lockout, pending a conference or a hearing and determination of the facts and principles involved.



ACTUAL WARFARE ON THE WEST VIRGINIA "FRONT"

(Machine gunners ready to repulse a threatened attack by the miners on Blair Mountain, West Virginia)



A HOME IN MINGO COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

(The rude shelter of a miner's family, typical of the way in which thousands of striking miners lived throughout the past year)

Commenting on this code in the *Survey* (New York) for February 4, Mr. Winthrop D. Lane expresses some disappointment in the picture of the West Virginia conflict presented by Senator Kenyon, but concedes that the proposed method of remedy "may, if adopted, not only bring relief to that State but help to avert much industrial warfare in the future."

The fundamental issue in West Virginia, according to Senator Kenyon, lies in the contention of the non-union operators "that they have the right, and will exercise it if they desire, to discharge a man if he belongs to the union," and in the determination of the United Mine Workers to unionize those fields, practically the only large and important coal fields in the United States not unionized. As Mr. Lane puts it, "the issue is whether the miners shall be free to join their mine labor organization if they want to, and whether the union shall be free to try to persuade them to do so."

As to the actual facts of the conflict, Senator Kenyon censures both sides. He declares that members of the United Mine Workers have done acts of violence, many of which are absolutely indefensible. Men have been killed, property has been destroyed and thousands of miners were engaged in a movement that was little short of insurrection. On the other hand, Senator Kenyon condemns the payment of deputy sheriffs in Logan County by the operators. In 1921 the amount spent for these salaries was \$61,517.

Yet these deputies are public officials. There is as much logic in having these salaries paid by the operators, says Senator Kenyon, as there would be in having members of Congress paid by private interests. It is admitted that the object is to prevent men from coming into the county to organize the United Mine Workers. This is Senator Kenyon's conclusion:

There have been violations of law on both sides of this controversy. There has been an arrogance upon both sides, seeming to indicate that, in the opinion of some of the leaders, the question was entirely one between the operators and the workers. . . . The whole story of this contest, however, is one of disregard for and breaking of law; of denials of constitutional rights; of a spirit of suspicion, hate, and retaliation on both sides that does not augur well for industrial peace in that portion of the State. There must be some change of feeling and some mutual concessions before industrial peace will be reestablished.

From a different viewpoint the *Independent and Weekly Review* (New York) says in reference to Senator Kenyon's code:

Two main facts dominate everything else in the bituminous coal industry—and it should be realized that it is this part of the industry, not the anthracite, that raises the threatening problems of to-day. First, the coal industry is a markedly seasonal industry. Second, it is an overdeveloped industry—there are more mines opened and drawing on capital for overhead costs than can earn a reasonable profit under normal conditions of the coal trade as at present developed. From these two facts proceed the various conflicting attempts at adjustment that plague the country as well as the industry itself.

Two opposing policies are contending for mastery in dealing with these fundamental difficulties. The operators naturally incline to make all necessary cost adjustments by cutting wages to a profit point, and employing labor only when the mines can earn a profit on the operators' terms. This policy, in general, prevails in the non-union fields of West Virginia. Under the peculiar conditions of to-day this policy operates more profitably to the mine-workers in that field than would otherwise be the case.

The Mine Workers' Union, on the other hand, tries to secure the highest rate of wages for actual working time, and to lengthen the working period in each year.

In the opinion of the editor the only thing that will provide a base for both peace and prosperity in West Virginia is such an investigation of the whole industry (under public authority) as shall determine and set forth all the essential facts. It is understood that a commission of investigation will soon be announced by Secretary Hoover.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY: ITS CHARACTER AND POLICY

THE former chairman of the British Labor Party, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., contributes to the *International Journal of Ethics* a brief survey of the salient characteristics of that organization. Mr. Henderson explains that it is a mistake to assume that the Labor Party, as organized in Great Britain, is essentially a party of manual workers. He says:

The Labor Party is a group of men and women of many different occupations who agree in having a common outlook and a common policy. The bond which holds the party together is intellectual, not economic. It is to be explained by reference to political principles, not by reference to sources of income. It is, however, admitted that in a very true sense, it is a party of the working-class. If we divide society not into manual workers and others, but into those who live by working, and those who live by owning, then the working-class will include all workers by hand or brain, and the Labor Party may therefore be called a working-class party because its character depends upon the natural attitude of those who live by working as contrasted with the natural attitude of those who live upon the proceeds of ownership. Even this distinction, however, does not exclude the so-called capitalist from membership of the party. For a man may approach social problems in a way that is not characteristic of those of his own economic class, and a man who lives by owning may very well believe that society would be better if no man were able to get without giving, to acquire goods without doing work.

Mr. Henderson points out that of the 14,000,000 industrial workers, only about 7,000,000 are in trade unions, and by no means all of these 7,000,000 are adherents of the Labor Party. However, the more active-minded industrial worker naturally joins his fellows in a trade union, and when he becomes politically conscious and active he is inclined to adopt the attitude and policy of the Labor Party.

Turning to the policy of the Labor Party, Mr. Henderson assures us that the party as at present constituted takes itself very seriously, that "it proposes to assume, maintain and develop the government of Great Britain as soon as a majority of the electorate expresses the desire that it should." He declares that the Labor Party's policy in opposition is definitely directed with a view to the possibility that it may have to assume power. "For this reason its acts and its statements are qualified by a sense of respon-

sibility which is not unnaturally absent from those of more violent groups, who even in their most sanguine moments can hardly believe that they will be asked or allowed to take over the government of Great Britain, at any rate in the immediate or near future."

The leaders of the Labor Party believe that the treatment of the unemployment problem by the Coalition Government is both inadequate and fundamentally unsound. So, too, the party regards the policy of heavy military expenditures still in force.



ARTHUR HENDERSON
(Former Chairman of the
British Labor Party)

Difficulties are being laid up for us by those at present in power; nevertheless, we intend sooner or later to take over the control of government. What then will be our policy? I shall speak first of economic policy. We aim at the establishment and maintenance of a greater efficiency in industry and agriculture; but the criterion of efficiency for us is not the amount of private gain which may be acquired by those engaged in industry and agriculture, but the quality of the public service performed by them. We view the production of goods as a public service, whether

it be organized by the state or not. In some cases, as in regard to coal mines and railways, accidental circumstances and not abstract theory compel us to the opinion that such services cannot be organized as public services unless there is a national ownership or ownership by the state, but even in these cases, our aim is not simply a change of control, but a greater efficiency for public service.

In regard to agriculture, the Labor Party has devised a policy for increasing the utility of British agriculture. This will involve public, if not national, ownership of the land in a sense not yet clearly defined, and a greater independence of farmers in regard to landlords, and of agricultural workers in regard to both landlords and farmers.

With regard to trade, the point of importance for us is not whether the trader shall be helped or hindered or left to work his own sweet will, but how his enterprise can best serve the public needs. For this reason the presumption is always on the side of freedom; but as in regard to civil liberty, so in regard to industry and trade, free-

dom does not involve that the individual shall be a law unto himself. In regard to the organization of industry, our first aim must be the prevention of misuse of the human instrument in production. Industry must be so organized as to diminish the evil effects of fluctuating trade, and to bear upon its cost of production the maintenance of the reserve of labor during periods of depression.

Finally, in international policy we shall have to remodel the machinery of diplomacy and perhaps to curtail the military tendencies of some of

our officials outside the Foreign Office. Our aim will be not simply the avoidance of war but the positive organization of the Peace of the World. We shall enter into no secret agreements. We shall oppose, giving full publicity to the facts, attempts to exploit subject peoples or undeveloped countries. We shall aim not at the creation of any supreme power or World's State, but at the coöperation of states as equals in the overcoming of such evils as famine and disease and in the development of all the resources of the world for the use of its peoples.

FRANCE AT WORK

GETTING a job as a worker in a French steel plant, just as he had formerly found employment in the mines and factories of America and Great Britain, for the sake of getting close to the industrial worker and thus learning something of his thoughts and ideals, Mr. Whiting Williams last summer obtained material for a series of interesting articles in *Scribner's Magazine*. The opening paragraphs of his article in the February number on "France at Work" state clearly and graphically the substance of what his experience revealed to him:

My French miner "buddy" had been swinging his pick back and forth at amazing speed for nearly an hour one morning last summer. We were down about two thousand feet below a mining village a few miles from the ruined mines and city of Lens in northern France. The coal had been coming down so rapidly that it kept the rest of us busy shovelling it into the cars which the boy of fifteen with equally amazing speed kept bringing up to the "face" of the seam.

All of us were stripped to the waist. Not one back amongst us but glistened in the light of the safety-lamps with the mixture of coal-dust and sweat. Except for the half-hour's pause for breakfast every one kept going at the same pace hour after hour. Also day after day. Yet never did I find one of them willing to confess the job fatiguing. From the lips of all of them came the same words accompanied by the same smile and the same shrug:

"C'est l'habitude!"

Later in other parts of France from leaders in various fields of her work and life as well as from other laborers came almost always the same name for the motive power which keeps the people of France busy:

"It's habit, m'sieu'—habit and custom—that does it."

The phrase appears to me to go further than any other to explain the spirit of modern France as it shows itself among the French workers as I came to know them. It holds almost equally well, too, whether they are hand-workers or head-workers. In either case, if they are French born, they have lived their life in very much

the same groove for a long time. Established social habit and social custom have come of old social institutions and old social arrangements of a people long established in the same economic environment. France is socially an elderly if not an old country—socially as well as geographically and geologically, perhaps socially because geographically and geologically. The French are an elderly people—at least a people beyond the middle of maturity.

Mr. Williams lays stress upon the evidences of that after-middle maturity as significant in French life.

As to the present situation of organized labor in France, Mr. Williams says:

The General Federation of Labor is said to have lost five-eighths of its members since the failure of that general strike in 1920. To-day about the only members left in it are the Communist radicals and the Socialist conservatives. These are fighting constantly for control of the organization. Both sides claim victory. The evenness of the current battle makes it look as though the Communists were disquietingly strong. When the votes go against them the Communists claim that the real story is told in the circulation figures of their competing newspapers—two thousand daily for *Le Peuple*, issued by the Socialist Federationists, and forty thousand for *L'Humanité*, of the Communists.

The country's surprising experience during the war also helps the careful observer to discount somewhat the amazing extremes of the Bolshevism of the Communists. This experience showed that the workers are in actuality much more patriotic—more conservative—than the bitterness of their public expressions might lead one to conclude.

But it is, of course, unsafe to argue that the French worker as a whole can be trusted always to accept without organized protest whatever comes. We will all make progress toward solving the problem of happy relations between the hand-workers and the head-workers when we learn this.

Other changes in French life resulting from the war will be considered by Mr. Williams in subsequent contributions to *Scribner's*.

POPE BENEDICT XV

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Pope Benedict on January 22 there was much comment in the press on the significance of the Papacy in the modern world and the efforts that had been made by the departed pontiff to advance the cause of civilization, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church. A representative editorial tribute was that paid by the San Francisco *Argonaut* in the paragraphs which follow:

Most notable of the deaths of the week is that of the Pope (Benedict XV), the spiritual father of unnumbered millions of men and women throughout the world. The influence of the head of the Catholic Church extends to every country and every province of the globe. Not all countries, to be sure, hearken to the spiritual guidance of Rome, but there is no country in which devoted adherents of the Roman church may not be found and to which its influence does not extend in one degree or another.

Measured by the higher standards of pontifical character and of intellectual power, Benedict XV was not a great Pope. That he was a man of high individual character, of high attainments, of high aims, goes without saying—in these days elevation to the papacy of any man lacking these qualifications is not thinkable. That it was not always so, history bears witness, as the whole world knows; and the moral contrast between Popes of this age and of other ages now happily remote bears witness to the advance of the moral standards of modern social organization as compared with those of former times.

The supreme enthusiasm of Benedict XV, aside from his deeply religious character and his devotion to the organization of which he was the head, was for peace among the nations. Curiously enough, it was the fate of this modern apostle of peace to reign over the Church Universal in the period of a war of unprecedented magnitude, involving unprecedented associations of nations and marked by barbarities hardly matched within the Christian era. It was no fault of his that his efforts to alleviate the horrors of war came to naught in an immediate sense; nor in any sense is it an indictment of the man or the pontiff that the fruition of his ideas and projects must wait upon future times. Nor may it be assumed that the lessons which he sought to teach are lost to the race. The ideals that he preached, the standards that he urged, make a record not to be regarded lightly, since they are bound to stand as precedents for the instruction of those who are to come after him in the administration of the Catholic Church, and as a source of inspiration for all lovers and promoters of peace now and in times to come.

During the war Benedict XV made two notable attempts to bring the conflict to a halt, but the momentum was too great for spiritual control. Furthermore, there was on the part of the Allied nations very general feeling that the sympathies of Benedict, though not openly revealed, were with the cause of the German autocracy, and this conception, whether justified or not, was

sufficient to nullify his efforts. More recently and more successfully the influence of the Vatican and of Benedict XV were exercised in the cause of peace in Ireland. Here, perhaps—unquestionably, we think, is the most imposing monument to his memory. Truly it may be said of the dead pontiff that a man of high moral enthusiasm, a personality of conspicuous worthiness, a vital spiritual force has gone out of the world. Under his hand the best traditions of the papacy were sustained. Men of all faiths unite, and worthily so, in tribute to the man, his worth, and his work.

After referring to certain criticisms that had been passed upon the failure of Pope Benedict to align his church positively against Germany at the time of the invasion of Belgium, Dr. Lyman Abbott, writing in his paper, the *Outlook* (New York), says that if the Pope and Cardinal Mercier could have changed places, it is certain that the Pope could not have done what Cardinal Mercier did in Belgium, and it is not certain that Cardinal Mercier could have done what the Pope did in Rome. Dr. Abbott thinks that even if it be conceded that the Pope seemed to sacrifice something of the moral power of the Church in order to hold it together, it is doubtful whether he could have held it together if he had ventured to make full use of its moral power during the war.

Whatever idealists may think upon this question, only a limited and decreasing number of irreconcilables can fail to see in current events some facts to be passed to the credit of the Pope's pacific temper. There is, I think, very little doubt that his influence has been exerted to assuage the anti-English passion of the Irish and make possible the treaty of peace between England and Ireland. The Vatican knows how to keep its secrets, and what its influence has been during the recent pontificate is a matter of surmise, not of public record; but it cannot be doubted that the growth of friendly relations between the Church and the State in Italy is not a little due to the friendly spirit of Benedict XV carrying forward the pacific policy of his immediate predecessor. That the Roman Catholic Church will ever recognize any clergy as legitimately ordained except its own I think highly improbable. I do not see how it can consistently do so. But the esteem and respect for the late Pope and the sympathy for the bereaved Church of which he was the head expressed in public utterances by both Protestants and Jews indicate at least that the bitterness of hostility which formerly existed has to a considerable degree abated, and for this a due measure of praise is due to the kindly spirit of Benedict XV.

Another article in the same number of

the *Outlook*, reviewing Pope Benedict's career, says:

His liberal statesmanship is evidenced by the fact that early in his pontificate the Pope issued a rescript concerning the Jews about which the *American Hebrew* said: "There is no statement that equals this direct unmistakable plea for equality for the Jews and against prejudice upon religious grounds." Benedict also reconciled France with the Vatican, and there is now a resumption of diplomatic relations; he even induced England to resume such relations. He removed the Papal order forbidding Catholic kings and

rulers to visit the King of Italy, and, opposing Pius IX's policy, allowed the faithful to take their part in the Italian Government, legislative and executive. The Catholic party, the so-called "Popolari," now has a quarter of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and has three Ministers in the Cabinet. The Vatican and the Quirinal are becoming reconciled. This is Benedict XV's greatest accomplishment. Hence, for the first time in the history of modern Italy, the Italian Government, ordained that, in honor of a dead Pope, flags should be half-masted on all public buildings, amusement places closed, and two days' mourning observed.

HOUSING AS AN OUTLET FOR AMERICAN CAPITAL

AFTER considering the various new prospects for American capital, Mr. C. Reinold Noyes, writing in the *North American Review*, lays special stress upon housing as an ideal field for investment, particularly favored under the new conditions, although it has been largely left to individual handling on a comparatively small scale. Mr. Noyes points out that housing in America is not merely sufficient, nor is it suitable to the requirements or means of our people:

The buildings are not permanent, as in Europe, but are too generally cheap, temporary structures, because they are built as "taxpayers" or on the very limited means of the home-builder. The business of erection and of financing the homes of the people is usually handled on a small local scale. There is no open market for mortgages on residence property. These are matters for individual transaction, privately arranged. And the result is that investment in first and second mortgage loans and the ownership of renting residence property is so troublesome that the average investor cannot be tempted to touch it. Perhaps one of the reasons for the development of the apartment house has been the readiness with which it lent itself to a more business-like and large-scale handling.

As a general rule housing has not been considered a field for big financial operations. Some of the Western trust companies are already engaged in the residence mortgage business. The savings banks and insurance companies invest extensively in first mortgages on such buildings. But there is need for big operating and big financing corporations to develop this field. The risk of loans on standard housing developments is far less than upon specialty or one-use buildings, and the profits are big. A system of bond issues based on mortgages on assorted risks could undoubtedly be made a success.

It is, of course, utterly foolish that the outcry against the profiteering landlord should be permitted to take the course of harassing and restrictive legislation. What is needed is legislative encouragement and popular favor so as to

attract investors into this field, not to drive them out as is now being done. Proposed federal legislation seems to indicate a change of sentiment in this regard.

Further, it is necessary that building costs should come down. A decline has already taken place in the cost of materials, and in Mr. Noyes' opinion reduction of wages is on the way. Labor, he says, must be satisfied with an equal real wage, and that means that the money wage must come down as it went up with the cost of living. The closed shop in the building trades has enabled a small group of Labor monopolists to squeeze all the rest of the people unmercifully. It is estimated that half of the cost of ordinary building is in direct labor, and that the bulk of the material cost is in indirect labor. A large part of the increased cost of building has come about through the lowering of output, resulting from restrictive rules and ancient methods. There should be a marked increase in efficiency, and this, with a moderate reduction of wages, would cut down building costs perhaps one-third.

In this investment field there can be no competition from abroad:

Europe can pay her debts to us in goods in the form of an adverse trade balance, while we devote the industrial energy thus saved to making ourselves more comfortable in our home land. Imports of goods indirectly liquidating the foreign debts will become new capital in the hands of some American, and will be released for re-investment here. These funds should be re-invested in the form which will procure for the investor the greatest security and the largest return. Naturally these purposes will be best served, not by investment in some overcrowded field to increase production and compete with other redundant products for a limited foreign

or domestic demand, but rather in the less competitive fields, in the manufacture of new kinds of goods and the enlargement or improvement of our equipment of permanent property for the production of direct services to our people. Because such undertakings offer a greater security and profit they will result in greater and more substantial prosperity among both groups concerned, the capitalists and the workers, and indirectly react to the benefit of the people as a whole.

Masses of men move according to natural laws. The causes of their actions are to be found in the conditions out of which they spring.

It is my belief that the policies and choices which I have described will be followed, not so much voluntarily as involuntarily. They seem to be on the cards. As a people we are more likely to engage our attention in elevating our standard of living at home than in spreading out to cover the world with our ownership and trade. If this is true, it is not well to attempt to stem the current. It is better to choose the winning, not the losing, side. The international banker has his place. And it will be a place of increasing importance. But the business of finding funds for public utilities and for housing will have a far greater development.

HOW CAN THE FARMER GET CREDIT?

IN the present period of distress for the American farmer many suggestions have been offered looking to an increase of his credit facilities. The editor of the *Credit Monthly* (New York), recognizing the fact that agricultural borrowers must be protected and favored at this time in every legitimate way by all financial institutions, concludes that if the banking reserves of the nation are to be kept liquid, it is not safe for the Federal Reserve Banks to go farther than to discriminate in favor of six-months agricultural paper. He proposes as steps to relieve the existing stringency that:

First, the farmers and the banks of agricultural regions must cooperate with the Federal Reserve authorities in furnishing that information regarding the resources and liabilities of borrowers necessary to determine whether notes offered are such as are proper to rediscount in the Federal Reserve bank. The farmer must be educated through the agricultural schools, through the

help of banking associations, through the cooperation of business interests with farmers' organizations to appreciate the fact that there are limits beyond which the Federal Reserve banks cannot safely go quite apart from any law they may succeed in passing.

Second, economists, bankers, business men and others must give thought to providing the farmer with credit facilities which shall fit into his requirements for longer term credits than it is safe for the Federal Reserve banks to provide.

Third, the agricultural sections of the country must be brought into closer touch with the Federal Reserve system by having a larger portion of the agricultural banks within that system. So long as in the largest agricultural States individual banks remain out of the Federal Reserve system, so long will those States fail to enjoy, to the extent to which their wealth and capacity entitle them, the facilities of the Federal Reserve banks. It is startling to note that in Nebraska 83 per cent. of the banks of the State are not in the system, in Kansas 81 per cent., in Missouri 90 per cent., in Louisiana 81 per cent., in Mississippi 91 per cent., in Georgia 83 per cent., in North Carolina 84 per cent., in Wisconsin 81 per cent., and in North Dakota 79 per cent. Wide stretches of these States, therefore, can tap the resources of the Federal Reserve banks only through some member bank located in a distant city. This fact places too great a burden upon the small number of banks which are members of the Federal Reserve system. They are under pressure to rediscount at the Federal Reserve bank beyond the limits of their own safety and that of the Federal Reserve bank of their district.

An important phase of the problem, therefore, is to create a public sentiment in favor of a unified banking system, and perhaps further to work out a plan which will attract into the Federal Reserve system, on a modified basis, a larger number of smaller banks located in scattered agricultural communities.

The men who handle commercial credits understand that prosperity on our farms means prosperity in our industries, and that failure on our farms, whether of crops or markets, means bankruptcies in merchandising and industry.



NEEDS A NEW SUIT

(Cartoon by ex-Congressman John M. Baer)
From *Capper's Weekly* (Topeka, Kansas)

AUSTRALIAN TRIBUTES TO HENRY STEAD

ELSEWHERE in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS appears an article on Great Britain's island possessions in the Pacific by the Australian journalist, Henry Stead, who died on shipboard on the Pacific Ocean on December 10, last. The first number of *Stead's Review* (Melbourne) for the new year contains many tributes to its late editor. Some of these had been received by cable from England.

A colleague who had been closely associated with Mr. Stead throughout the dark days of the war, commenting on his work as editor during that period, says:

Gifted with almost destructive powers of criticism, he used this faculty as an end to subsequent reconstruction, not having much patience with mere restoration, much preferring to build anew, and this despite a vein of innate conservatism that ran through him. In his literary expression, he was simple, direct, forceful and logical, his early engineering training aiding him to give an almost formulaic exactness to what he had to say. With great powers of concentration, and an untiring worker, he was practically harnessed to his desk, and his magazine being largely the production of his pen, or rather his typewriter, he used to work for long periods at a stretch, with very brief intervals for rest or for refreshment, and, no doubt, the Herculean labors of those days taxed his vitality, and may have contributed to his premature death.

His rapid and accurate intuitions—he was an excellent reader of character—enabled him to interpret the signs of the times in a manner which was at once the envy and the despair of brother editors, and this faculty of his gave *Stead's* magazine an influence and status almost unique in the history of journalism, his readers being found wherever the post-bag found its way.

This colleague was impressed by Henry Stead's keen vision as a journalist during the war. Every attempt to bring about peace was anticipated by him, and he published what was virtually a forecast of the Armistice itself two months before its consummation.

There is no doubt that Henry Stead's political outlook was broadened and deepened and enriched by his Australian experiences. It lifted him out of Europe's tortuous, historical statecraft and diplomatic muddlings and disasters. Its youth, optimism, and the easy assurance with which it faced the dawn were an inspiration to him; hence he believed that his sphere of usefulness was more extensive here than in Europe or America, and so it led him to decline tempting offers of editorial chairs in London and New York.

It is the veritable irony of fate that Henry Stead, to whom disarmament was the logical sequence of the pioneering work in fields of peace of his great and distinguished father—with whom Henry had been closely associated during the epochal work achieved at the Hague Conference of 1907—should, I say, Moses like, have been denied actual entrance to the promised land, for his illness struck him down in San Francisco when en route to the great assembly of the nations at Washington.

Among the well-known Australians who express their sense of loss in the untimely death of Henry Stead is Hon. J. G. Latham, member of the Australian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and ex-staff captain of the Australian Navy. Mr. Latham says:

The death of Henry Stead removes from the life of Australia a man whose influence with the pen was a very real and significant element in the thought of the community. Writing as he did upon great and often pressing problems of national and international moment, he could not expect, and he did not expect, that his views would commend universal, or, in many cases, even general assent. It was one of his virtues that he sought to reach beyond the merely provincial—and he did not allow himself to be deterred or deflected by criticism or opinion which was merely provincial in basis or outlook.

His knowledge of men and things was varied and extensive. His experience in relation to world problems and efforts to solve them was equaled by but few men, while his acquaintance with leading personages added weight to the opinions which his skilled pen so effectively expressed. He helped us to look beyond and above our immediate surroundings; and kept us alive to the significance of the larger issues, which are of greater moment to men and women than the smaller contentions in which it is more easy to spend our energies.

He carried on the high tradition of his father, and did not fear that terror of democracy—unpopularity. In time of war he had the courage of opinions which tended to alienate, and in some cases did, in fact, alienate, those with whom he naturally associated. For his courage we give him honor; for his ability we give him admiration; and some of us mourn that which can never be replaced—the loss of a friend.

Professor Herbert Heaton, of the University of Adelaide, expresses hearty approval of Mr. Stead's work as a journalist during the past seven years:

His clarity of mind, quick perception, and international outlook were an oasis in the desert of war hates, passions, and lies, and one turned to him with glad relief after the tragic futilities of the daily press war news. I used to read the *Review* with the same joy and approval as I

read the *Nation* or the *Manchester Guardian*, glad that there was one voice at any rate which would always be lifted to espouse true liberalism and international decency.

Mr. F. W. Eggleston, of Victoria, who was a member of the Australian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, adds his commendation of Mr. Stead's journalistic service.

Fifteen years ago a workaday journalist or man of the world would have said that a review of the class of *Stead's*, dealing solely with serious subjects, could not possibly succeed in Australia. Every attempt of the kind had failed. Starting with high ideals, most editors have inevitably made concession to tawdry popularity, and started to write down to a level they fondly conceived to be below them. But *Stead's* has succeeded without once turning on this downward path.

I would be wrong to depict him as the mere exponent of a message, however noble that message might be! The Message was the Man. Mr. Stead preached the message of justice, tolerance in politics and life, because every fibre of his being resented injustice and persecution. His political creed was the spontaneous expression of his ardent and generous nature.

Professor Ernest Scott, of the University of Melbourne, who knew W. T. Stead thirty years ago, was impressed by the son's striking resemblance to the father. Henry Stead had beneath a gentle demeanor some of the explosive energy of his father, and the same depth of sincerity and moral courage. As a journalist he generally knew more than he revealed, and felt more strongly than his words expressed.

Henry Stead has died all too young. He seemed destined to play a somewhat important part in the literary and public life of Australia. With his acuteness, his industry, his generous sympathies, his pertinacity, and that Steadian pugnacity which was a vital element in his character, he would surely have cut out for himself a much larger place than that which he had hitherto filled. He had had to work through times of unusual perplexity for the kind of journalism in which he was engaged. But he was full of ideas, he had a constructive mind, he had widened his experience greatly, and he seemed to be ripe for breaking new ground. All that rich promise has been destroyed by his early death—for, indeed, forty-six is very early for the departure of one who seemed so abundantly capable of living to fine purposes.

A SWEDISH COPPER COMPANY SEVEN CENTURIES OLD

THE mining and smelting of copper were carried on near Falun, Sweden, seven hundred years ago. The industry so prospered that during the seventeenth century Sweden was by far the biggest producer of copper in the world. Yet the statistics of output, as read to-day, seem ridiculously small. In 1655 the whole world's consumption of copper was covered by a paltry 3453 tons—the output of the Swedish mines. The company that controlled this output exists to-day with a capitalization of 60,000,000 kronor. It is the Great Copper Mountain Mining Company, Inc. The *Swedish-American Trade Journal* (New York) says:

If this company is not the oldest industrial company in the world, it is at least the one which has the oldest records. A charter dated 1347 specifies above royal seals certain "privileges" which the miners were to enjoy. But the records go back farther; a letter dated 1288 shows that a certain Bishop Peder acquired a one-eighth share of the Falun mine by trade. Just what the good bishop traded for this interest we do not know. But the history of the company can be traced still farther back, and the letterheads to-day bear the significant legend "Founded in 1225."

In considering the history of copper production at Falun it must be remembered that mining of the ore, smelting, and manufacture of copper products have been conducted separately. From the earliest times until 1716 the mining was done by individuals exercising their rights as "par" [share] holders, while mining as a corporate enterprise did not begin until the date mentioned. After having secured the ore the "par holders" smelted it privately in picturesque little huts, some of which may still survive as relics near Falun, for it was not until 1862 that private smelting was discontinued. The manufacture of copper into articles of use was also done by individuals until 1641 when the company as such took over this work. In that year the company purchased the Avesta Copper Mill, and thereafter operated it for more than two hundred years in the manufacture of copper goods.

During its long history the Falun Copper Mine has yielded 35 to 40 million tons of ore, and from this has been extracted 500,000 tons of copper.

In addition to copper the company produces iron, steel, wood, pulp, paper and chemical products. To supply the required motive power for all its various industrial establishments, the company owns water falls, with a total capacity of 200,000 horsepower, and, of this amount, about 80,000 horsepower are now utilized.

MILITARISM IN EGYPT

"REASON and statesmanship have prevailed in Ireland, after great and needless humiliations and bloodshed. Are we to wait for them to prevail in Egypt until the British Government has been taught the same bitter lessons there, that force alone cannot ensure either peace or security?"

Such is the question which Sir Valentine Chirol puts in the current *Fortnightly* (London); adding that such documents as the letter sent under Lord Allenby's name to the Sultan of Egypt give the "painful impression" that we are so to wait. His article comprises a survey of recent events in Egypt.

The Egyptian Ministers and officials co-operated very loyally throughout the war, and though an assurance was given that Great Britain "took upon herself the sole burden of the war without calling upon the Egyptian people for aid," they were ultimately called upon to give and did give very valuable aid in many ways and even in the field. As they were also assured that Great Britain was "now fighting to protect the rights and liberties of Egypt which were originally won upon the battlefield by Mehemet Ali," the Egyptians may be excused for not having imagined that the result of British victories, to which they themselves contributed at some cost, would be to release them indeed from the very slender ties which still bound them to Constantinople, but only in order that Great Britain should impose upon them a relationship of far more direct and permanent subjection to herself than they had ever formally recognized or been asked to recognize during thirty-eight years of British military occupation and control.

Two days after the armistice was signed Zaghlul Pasha—no mere hot-headed firebrand, for he had graduated in official life as Minister of Education with Lord Cromer's fullest approval—demanded the fulfilment of allied promises by the recognition of Egyptian independence. These demands were ignored. Zaghlul and three of his friends were arrested and deported to Malta. All Egypt rose. Then followed the Milner Commission and its report, laid before Parliament early in 1921.

It was confidently assumed in Egypt that the British Government had accepted its recommendations when it foreshadowed the abolition of the Protectorate and allowed the Sultan to entrust the formation of a new cabinet to Adly Pasha. For he had not only taken a most important part in all the *pourparlers* conducted by the Commission, but he could claim to represent Egypt with far greater weight than any of the

Prime Ministers who had held office since Rushdi's resignation in 1919, merely to carry on administrative business, and with little authority behind them other than that of the British Residency.

In July Adly Pasha came to London at the head of a delegation to discuss with Lord Curzon, by whose insistence the greatest secrecy was preserved, so that the public knew nothing until the break off of negotiations was abruptly announced. The control over internal administration on which the Foreign Office insisted went far beyond the Milner Report; and the demands relative to the Army of Occupation irreconcilable with it. The undertaking exacted under this head

contained neither explicitly nor implicitly any assurance that the presence of a British force was "not to constitute in any manner a military occupation of the country or prejudice the rights of the Government of Egypt." On the contrary, it plainly aimed at the permanence, and at least potential extension, of the pre-war military occupation, which the British Government had always declared to be merely temporary, and in practice had always confined within narrow limits. To such a demand the delegation, as the British Government must have known, could only reply that it simply nullified the proposed recognition of Egyptian independence. "The project," Adly Pasha wrote, "confers on Great Britain the right of maintaining military forces at all times and on any part of Egyptian territory, and places at her disposition all the ways and means of communication in the country. That is an occupation pure and simple which destroys all idea of independence, even to the extent of suppressing internal sovereignty."

On this Sir Valentine's comment is significant:

The rock on which the negotiations were shipwrecked was sheer militarism, and it is no secret that, whilst the Foreign Office was disposed to take a broader view of the political factors in the problem, the view that prevailed was that of the War Office, backed by Mr. Churchill, who, when he was in Cairo last spring, did not disguise, even in conversation with Egyptian Ministers, his hostility to the recommendations of the Milner Commission. Not only has the War Office view prevailed on the question of the Army of Occupation, but Lord Allenby's Note, setting forth the policy of H.M. Government, breathes altogether a very different spirit from the Milner Report. Its tone is one of masterful reproof and sometimes of petulant irritation.

Obviously the rupture of negotiations conducted by an Egyptian statesman, known for his moderation and for his earnest desire to come to a friendly agreement, is only too well calculated to drive the vast majority of Egyptians back into the arms of the extremists.

ONE MEANS TO RELIEVE THE WORLD CRISIS

IT is an especial pleasure to have from a Parisian pen, at this time, a frank, fearless, and hopeful utterance like M. Jean Finot's article in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris). His claim to be a true friend of England is strongly based on books in both languages with such titles as "French and English" and "The Anglo-French Nation"—and still more, perhaps, on this bold piece of advice:

England has securely attained all the advantages of victory. . . . The destruction of the German fleet has secured to her all the guarantees to be desired, from the political or the commercial point of view. . . . Furthermore, not to mention the other trumps in her hand, she has possessed herself of the German colonies.

Over all the ever-widening field of complex and multifarious devices for escaping a general economic cataclysm, it is useless to continue the quest. Not one of them will prove efficacious, save only England's performance of a simple act of justice toward Germany.

By what right did England take possession of those colonies? No principle of international law justifies that annexation. Furthermore, thus bereft of her colonies, Germany finds herself, from that cause and on divers accounts, in a critical situation.

The practical sense and noble feelings of our friends across the channel will enable them easily to understand how great was the injustice, and how necessary it is to make amends.

Doubtless there would be serious difficulties in actually restoring the colonies. Nevertheless Great Britain can escape from that dilemma by paying over to the injured party an equivalent for the property annexed.

The continental allies owe England something like ten billion dollars. That entire debt, and many quarter-day payments of Germany's indemnity, could be at once cleared off by the triangular use of such English payments on account. Even to Germany the lost lands are estimated to have been worth from five to eight times that sum. Incalculably greater is the gain for England, whose hold on Africa, in particular, is thus completed and assured. Altogether, it is an addition of some 65 per cent. to the former colonial holdings of Great Britain. But beyond the actual amount of the German indemnity, at most, England will surely never be asked to pay. Such a prospect will stabilize at a respectable valuation the mark, the franc, and all the other monetary units of the continent. It will revive agriculture, commerce, and credit. It will recall to their

jobs millions, both of strikers and of unwilling idlers: perhaps more in England than anywhere else; for her export trade is dying, largely for lack of solvent customers in the foreign markets.

Often in this whole argument Great Britain is bracketed with our own country, as chief among the "Lands of High Exchange." The tone in certain passages is much less cordial. The two nations "have alternately intimated their intention of canceling the war debts generally; but no one now has any illusions as to such acts of international generosity. America has frankly told France and the others that she will collect every cent due her, and 5 per cent. interest as well! England still dangles the glittering possibility of such action before our eyes." But in any case there may have to be a long moratorium; and even our thrifty bankers and statesmen may finally be forced to yield to the impossible. They cannot collect milliards, even by force, from a bankrupt world.

Of course, British prosperity and credit—despite some frank allusions to her social disintegration, strikes, failing commerce, and the perils in Ireland, Egypt, and India—are surely overestimated by the writer in the effort to make this gigantic scheme appear easy as well as righteous. It will be evident to our readers that John Bull could do nothing of the sort unless Uncle Sam once again became his complacent banker, and so, eventually, his partner in boundless schemes for the colonizing and exploiting of whole continents—even, finally, in the economic salvation of the world. Must we, also, see unemployment, loss of commerce, social upheaval, as threatening here as they already are in England to-day, before we too can learn the lesson that "We're all in the same boat"?

In this epochal paper there is for once no hint of terror before the prospective attack from beyond the Rhine. That a busy, prosperous Germany is necessary, alike to England's salvation and to the world's safety, is accepted as the self-evident truth which it really is. Of the great and as yet insoluble problems like Russia, or like China, there is hardly a mention. Our absence from our own creation, the World League, our refusal to accept a mandatory, like Turkey, which

we only could efficiently undertake, are not cast in our teeth. There is a constant effort, rather, to avoid collision or even irritation, best explained perhaps by one passing assurance:



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JEAN FINOT, WHO HAS A NEW SOLUTION FOR EUROPE'S TROUBLES

The neutral nations, or even the United States, will not fail to support this morally just claim on Germany's behalf. England, soon or late, will finally accept the advice of all the friends of international justice.

That good example is counted on to influence us also.

The paper can hardly fail to become the burning center of a much franker discussion than heretofore as to the largest international needs and duties. It demands an exhaustive study by our ablest minds. Any American who is still in doubt which great nation is generally regarded as the luckiest, canniest, most selfish, and least lovable should delve patiently between its lines. E. g.:

The United States will see themselves compelled to follow this noble example. They will discover, with other things, the necessity to adjourn for a very long period payment of the debts which the Allies had contracted on their account.

Let us by no means forget that, while making unforgettable sacrifices to the profit of the triumph of justice and peace, they have also enriched themselves singularly, during the world's ruin.

It is not timidity nor affection that softens these curious phrases. There are plenty of bold words, also, like: "The Peace Conference was, to speak truthfully, a veritable hatcher of wars."

The article attempts to cover the whole ground of the world's needs, and certainly does supply texts for endless conferences and volumes—or for heroic national wisdom and prompt action. "To-morrow is too late" is its grim refrain.

NICARAGUA, COSTA RICA AND THE NEW CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

NO French political writer is likely to please at present who fails to strike a note of profound dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

"The 'political' conception which triumphed at Versailles"—thus begins an unnamed writer in the Christmas number of the *Paris Correspondant*—"among its other curious ideas had hit upon no better expedient than to 'Balkanize' one section of Europe, and to carve up, wrongfully and at random, an economic structure, the growth of centuries. Thus it has set up a row of states whose existence promptly reveals itself as difficult and fraught with peril."

This seems at first a mere antithesis for the Central American effort at larger union, indicated in the title; but it is, in fact, more

like the opening gun of a scattering fusillade at Uncle Sam.

The new union has occurred in the centennial year of the original one, promptly formed by all the five little revolting Spanish states in 1821, which lasted eighteen years only. However, two of the states that signed the treaty in January, 1921, have refused to accept the constitution of the new union, drawn up in August and promulgated in October last.

The writer notes the close resemblances to our own organism, with the large exception that the executive power is lodged in a commission of six members, chosen for six years and ineligible for immediate reappointment. The six choose their own presiding member each year. But though the executive is thus weakened (perhaps under the influence of

recent events to northward), the federal union itself is strong and avowedly indissoluble. Still, each member must for the present carry its burden of foreign debts and other engagements. The new state has slender resources, scant population, and little cohesion between upper and lower classes. The great majority in the population are of Indian, Negro, or mixed stock. The "abstention" of two states is far more serious than the reluctance of Rhode Island and North Carolina in 1789. Nicaragua and Costa Rica can hardly be coaxed and certainly not forced in.

Nicaragua is too prosperous financially to merge herself willingly in the general poverty.

Then, too, the Government of the United States exercises a mighty influence in Nicaraguan affairs. Since 1911 it has exerted itself to play a dominant part in the finances. The customs receipts are pledged to American bankers and collected by American officials. The canal treaty, ratified by both countries, carries with it control at either outlet, with sites for naval stations, at a price of only \$3,000,000. Almost the whole Atlantic seaboard is monopolized by American enterprises. And so, as the United States does not care to see any formation of groups of Latin-American states, Nicaragua's decision to hold aloof from the federation is easily explained.

In discussing Costa Rica, again, the dispute over the southern boundary—originally with Colombia but now inherited by Panama—is made a ground for a cynical review of the birth of the latter republic, and its generous gift of the Canal Zone to us only two weeks later. Even the arbitration of Judge White of our Supreme Court, in 1910, and the recent warning to Panama that she must make no further resistance to it, become, in the writer's eyes, only further evidence of our leonine intentions.

On such matters we shall hardly accept either our history or our ethics from a nameless Parisian. But the paper is typical of a very general present tendency to depict us as meddlesome and dictatorial on both continents—or, indeed, on three! As the author puts it:

These reflections deserve the more attention because, under another form of the imperialism of Theodore Roosevelt's "Big Stick," the United States is pursuing, whichever party may be in power, the domination of the continent—its "control" through "penetration" in all its forms.

In such an indictment, our investments in Mexico's oil wells, the refusal to recognize Huerta's blood-stained title to a revolutionary presidency, are aligned with the grievances of Colombia or of Panama. "Petroleum lures on to conquest exactly as did the gold of the Transvaal!" From our conference on the affairs of the Pacific we have "barred Spanish states that control its shores from Lower California to Tierra del Fuego. Such an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine is none the less eloquent for being silent." Immediately thereafter follows what is perhaps the crucial paragraph, whose assertions and sinister suggestions can hardly be left unchallenged either by our South American friends or by ourselves:

This interpretation is not going on without exciting uneasiness below the 30th parallel. It has pushed three great South American republics—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—into forming some years ago the compact known as the A. B. C. If the Conference at Washington, as is seriously proposed, forbids the great naval powers to construct warships for other states than themselves, then, since the South American nations have no shipyards, they would be *definitively disarmed*, actually helpless to defend their ports or their river mouths.

A NEW SPANISH "EMPIRE"?

WHILE the attention of the people of the United States has been directed toward Washington and the Far East, there has been under way a movement, originating in our own colony of Porto Rico, whose far-reaching potentialities will be of immediate concern to everyone at all familiar with Spanish-American affairs. In December last, at the Athenæum in Madrid, the President of the Nationalist Association of Porto Rico, Señor Cayetano Coll y Cuchi, delivered before a large and sympathetic audience a speech in which he outlined the

recent history of his island, its relations with the United States, and concluded with an appeal that all the Spanish-speaking peoples of the New World, including his own, reunite themselves to the mother country under the form of a federation. This speech was printed in full in *Revista de Puerto Rico* (San Juan) for January.

After extended preliminary remarks the speaker proceeded with the exposition of his theme, and made reference to certain guarantees given to the Spanish plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of peace with the

United States at Paris after the Spanish-American War:

... The Spanish representatives ceded the right of sovereignty under a solemn promise made by the North American commissioners. The Spanish people could entertain no doubt of the treatment which the United States of America would give to Porto Rico, because its fate was to be decided by the North American Congress, which is a body out of which have never issued laws which restrained liberty and democracy in the world. And after this solemn promise, the Treaty of Paris was confirmed, in virtue of which the Porto Rican-Spanish people were abandoned. We, in Porto Rico, looked upon this change of sovereignty, not indeed with the expectation of a new departure in our political life, but with genuine certitude of our future destinies. . . .

It is not, perhaps, generally remembered that Porto Rico had already received from Spain in 1897 a charter of autonomy, "in virtue of which," says Señor Coll y Cuchi, "she simply desired that the Spanish banner might remain as the one symbol of her sovereignty, and the government was placed entirely in the hands of Porto Ricans." From the speaker's point of view, the island had a right to expect from the United States at least as much as had been granted by the mother country. There was even hope that the constitution might be amplified and a republic created. What was the dismay, then, when a military government was formed, pending the decision in Congress as to the fate of the island, and the civil government created in 1900 was hardly more satisfactory.

Señor Coll y Cuchi, as well as many of his associates, was educated in the United States, he understood English better than his own language, and was thoroughly familiar with and appreciative of American traditions and institutions. The group of which he was a member might, therefore, have logically been expected to be on the side of the North Americanization of the island—but such was not the case. While rejoicing that Porto Rico was to have the benefit of American laws (guaranteeing security of person and home, separation of church and state, etc.), they were determined that Spanish culture should remain inviolate, although it might be vastly enriched and rejuvenated by the "grafting-on" of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

But the volcano of insular politics remained more or less quiescent until the year 1909. (Was this due to the fact that Porto Rico was enjoying unheard of prosperity, chiefly because of the duty-free entrance of her products into the ports of the United States and the privilege of using for

local expenditures all taxes and customs collected in the island?) In that year, however, an attempt was made to dispense with Spanish in the public schools as a medium of teaching, though as a language it would have been retained as an important part of the curriculum. Instantly uproar prevailed. The adult population of course protested, but, says the Señor, it was significant that the rebellion was initiated by school children of six, seven, and ten years! As English was retained, the more fervid protagonists of Spanish established with their own funds private schools, which gave a warm welcome to all students who had revolted against its displacement.

So the Latin pot simmered for four years until the inception of the Wilson Administration, whose liberal policy toward Porto Rico is spoken of in the following complimentary terms:

... But when the great President triumphed [in the election of 1912] we sent to Washington a commission to set forth the wrongs of Porto Rico, and encountered a frank and generous understanding in the President and the men of his party. . . .

The President had in his hands in these days the message which he shortly afterward delivered to Congress, asking for the independence of the Philippine Islands. This paper signified to us the certainty that the people of the United States would do justice to Porto Rico. . . . A short time afterward a projected law was presented in the American Congress which conceded an amply autonomous government to Porto Rico; but, as the change could not be brought about immediately, Wilson sent to the island a governor with liberal instructions, and all the American ministers were displaced, and Porto Ricans appointed to fill the vacancies. This governor never acted without first calling us together and consulting us; and when there was a divergence of opinion, he did that which the public sentiment of our people demanded.

The present upheaval in the island is, according to the speaker, directly due to the displacement of Governor Yager by another appointee after the coming into power of the Harding Administration.

Despairing of the possibility of an understanding between Anglo-Saxon and Latin, and fearful of the fate of Spanish culture in the New World at the hands of the Northern conquerors, the orator sounds a call to every Spanish-speaking nation to merge itself into a federation for the defense and propagation of that culture. As a preliminary step, he suggests a Congress of Spanish-speaking peoples in Madrid, modeled on the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

WHAT THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE IS DOING FOR CHILDREN

AN article in *Public Health Reports* (Washington, D. C.), by Dr. Taliaferro Clark, of the U. S. Public Health Service, discloses the fact that the Federal Government has embarked upon a number of special undertakings in behalf of the health of children, apart from its activities of more general scope which indirectly contribute to children's health.

As long ago as 1908 the Public Health Service issued a bulletin on "Milk in Relation to Public Health," which was widely distributed and contributed materially to the adoption by State and local health officials of measures for safeguarding the milk supply.

In the course of elaborate investigations of trachoma, carried out in 1912 and confined chiefly to schools, the officers of the Service, says the writer,

were instructed to make sanitary surveys of the school buildings visited by them and observations of the physical condition of the children inspected. As a result of these observations it became apparent that organized health work in schools had been largely confined to the cities and that the work should be extended to country districts, where so many people reside without receiving instruction in the prevention of disease.

The sanitary needs revealed were many. In general, the faults observed were due to lack of skilled advice and assistance and concerned especially the health supervision of children and the location, construction, sanitation, and equipment of school buildings.

In order to secure material for the standardization of the work and for the purpose of focusing attention more particularly on school health supervision, in 1915 the Service made a survey of the rural schools of Porter County, Indiana, in coöperation with the local health and educational authorities. During this survey exhaustive studies were made of the hygiene of seventy-five rural schools, and a medical and mental examination was made of 2488 school children. This work has been continued, and up to the end of 1921 the Service had made sanitary surveys of hundreds of school buildings and examined large numbers of school children in nearly every State of the Union. The work of the Service in this field has attracted nation-wide attention and has contributed very materially to the advancement of school health supervision, especially in rural districts, where such service is so badly needed.

Realizing as it does that heretofore the great factor in reducing infant mortality has been the improved organization of public health administration, the Service has made an intensive study of child health organization in seven States. The results of these studies have been very gratifying. In one State, in which no money had previously

been appropriated for child health work and but limited appropriation made for general health work, the activities of the Service excited State-wide interest to such a degree that very liberal appropriations have been made not only for general health work but for child health work also. Some of the concrete results attained were the appointment of a full-time director of child hygiene, the establishment of public health nurses in twenty-nine counties, the organization of child health centers in twenty-three counties, the distribution of thousands of school inspection schedules and the undertaking of some form of school health supervision in approximately fifty counties of the State, and the enactment of a physical education law which provides for the teaching of health habits and for the physical examination of school children and definitely coördinates the department of education and the State department of health in their relation to the health supervision of school children. In addition, volunteer organizations engaged in health work have been stimulated to greater activity and impressed with the value of coördinated effort.

In another State the appropriations for child health work, largely through the activities of the Service, have doubled; and in another, the child health work has been planned and organized on a three-year basis, at the termination of which period it is expected that the major portion of the child population of the State will be under definite health supervision.

Another field of investigation in which the Service has been active is that relating to the mental health of children, and particularly the prevalence of feeble-mindedness. Its work has included a mental survey of more than 50,000 children in hundreds of schools in various parts of the country. One kindred undertaking of much interest was a study of the mental and physical status of children appearing before the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia. This is said to have been of great value to the court in arriving at judicial decisions.

The Public Health Service has prepared and distributed over 100 special articles having more or less direct bearing on child health. In addition to this, representatives of the Public Health Service, while conducting State-wide investigations in child hygiene, prepared much of the child health literature used by the States in which the investigations were conducted. Furthermore, during the year 1920, with the coöperation of 105 daily newspapers with wide circulation in practically every State in the Union, the Service published a series of articles on the "Care of the Baby" and another on "The Growing Child." These articles excited wide interest and were supplemented by hundreds of letters written in response to inquiries stimulated by them.

STREET SAFETY EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

WHAT shall we do about street accidents? Everybody knows how alarmingly their number has increased in recent years, and probably everybody will agree with Dr. E. Barton Payne, who in an article on this subject declares that the one possible remedy is *education*. Dr. Payne writes under the title, "School Education and Street Safety" in the valuable bulletin of the Safety Institute of America called *Safety* (New York). As may be inferred from this title, the writer emphasizes the importance of schools as the place in which instruction in street safety can most advantageously be given. He says:

Those who are at all acquainted with the psychology of childhood are aware that children possess inherited tendencies which, if naturally expressed, are inappropriate to the complex life of to-day. These tendencies were developed in a simpler environment in the history of the race, and therefore, if these tendencies are not re-directed, children will not remain long, at play, in our modern city streets. To be specific, let us look at the play activity alone. Children do not need to be taught to play. They need only to have the desired stimulation and the play activity follows. Now picture the children of the modern American city with no play space available but the streets and the busy mother who cannot go out to guard the child in his play activity. The child darts into the street for a ball, rushes out upon roller skates, or runs across the street because something has appealed to him on the other side—and the speeding automobile does the rest.

The inherited tendencies of which play is an example are supplemented by undesirable habits, which children and adults have acquired in the process of their natural education, and which adults have acquired in a much simpler environment than that characteristic of the complex life of to-day. For instance, take the simple habit of "jay-walking." No one wants to walk straight into danger, and yet the habit of taking the straightest line to our destination leads us to walk right into the path of the automobile, looking neither to the right nor left.

Finally, ignorance of the simple facts of life is the cause of many accidental deaths, and numerous non-fatal accidents. In 1919 there were one thousand deaths from electricity in the United States. Now, everyone knows in a general way that electricity is dangerous, but the trouble is that everyone is not aware that a dangling wire, an improperly insulated wire, and other like conditions must be treated in just one way to insure safety, and that is to avoid contact with it. Another case is in point. During three years the public utilities of St. Louis accounted for forty deaths and a thousand accidents to children between the ages of six and sixteen. An examina-

tion of these cases showed that these accidents were the result of four causes: contact with live wires, playing in the streets, stealing rides on the street cars, and playing on railroad tracks. No one had any notion that the causes of these accidents were so simple, but when once they were known, astonishing results followed educational treatment. The year 1920 showed only one death from these causes.

The writer declares that parents cannot be depended upon to teach their children how to avoid accidents, just as they are, in general, poor guardians of children's health—as evidenced by the fact that in a class of 50 children six years of age, 49 were coffee-drinkers. The schools, alone, have the knowledge, organization and public spirit needed for carrying out an effective campaign of safety education among children, but they have, in the past, hesitated to add instruction along this line to an already overcrowded curriculum. How this objection can be met is pointed out by Dr. Payne as follows:

The plan is very simple. It is to make instruction in accident prevention, just as instruction in health, a problem of every subject in the curriculum. For illustration, note what is possible in English. Instead of discussing the dead and uninteresting subjects usually assigned for themes in a language class, it is possible to arouse the interest of children in the extremely live situation of accident prevention, allow them to compose descriptions of accidents, exposition of method of preventing accidents, such as the Schaefer method of resuscitation, or ways of protecting children from accidents. "These exercises, when once prepared, may be given in short talks to other rooms, thus affording the child an audience similar to a real life situation. Thus, every subject lends itself to the treatment of some aspect of accident prevention.

A second method is that of dramatization. No subject is so dramatic as that of the saving of human lives, and therefore, almost every accident situation, such as crossing the street in the rain, roller skating on the streets, looking in both directions, avoiding hazards of various sorts, may be dramatized by children and thus made extremely vivid. The instructions will thus lead them to observe carefulness and see that accidents are prevented. Finally, the plan contemplates the enlisting of the whole group of children in an organized plan to save the lives of the children of their immediate community. Representatives from various rooms may be assigned by the children themselves to study and report upon the accident situations, and the older children may be organized into bodies to help the smaller children across the street, to put out signs, and to give instruction in means of preventing acci-

dents, and in first aid. Recent years have taught us that children are not only capable of handling the problems of their own welfare, but as a matter of education we have no right to deprive them of that privilege. We have had this plan in operation long enough now to witness some of the results of instruction, and numerous cities have already published those results. The most notable among those publishing reports are Detroit and St. Louis. The remarkable result in St. Louis has aroused deep interest throughout the country. In the year 1919 and ten years previous an average of fifty children a year of elementary school age died from the result of fatal accidents, upon the streets and in the homes

of the city. During the year 1920, with accident instruction given in most of the schools, the number was reduced immediately from an average of fifty, and forty-nine for the year 1919, to twenty for the year 1920. Similar results have been achieved elsewhere. Detroit has already reported that they have, through the work of Miss Beard, cut their accidents to children to half of the former number. While the work has been too recently begun in other cities to evaluate it statistically, yet the reports at the Boston Congress from a dozen or more cities, where work is being done along the line presented here, indicated that astonishing results have been achieved.

LATIN-AMERICAN VIEWS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THAT the Monroe Doctrine should be shelved in favor of a Pan-American Union or the League of Nations is the theme of an article in the January issue of *Cuba Contemporánea* by Señor Félix Pérez Porta.

On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe, in his seventh annual message to the American Congress, stated that the United States had recognized the various republics of the Western Hemisphere as free peoples, and proposed that for the future the United States look with disfavor upon the attempt of any European power to extend its territorial possessions in this hemisphere.

Señor Porta says that the Monroe Doctrine was not conceived by Monroe, but that it owes its origin to a letter addressed to Mr. Richard Rush, United States Minister at the English Court, by George Canning, English Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this letter Canning proposed that England and the United States conclude an agreement concerning the Spanish-American colonies. In speaking for England, Canning said:

(1) The reconquering of the colonies by Spain was to be considered impossible;

(2) The question of their recognition as independent states would be considered subject to time and circumstances;

(3) England was not disposed to put any obstacles in the way to prevent an agreement between the colonies and the mother country, to be arrived at through friendly relations.

(4) England did not pretend to appropriate to herself any portion of the colonies.

(5) England would not look with indif-

ference upon the passing of any portion of the colonies under the dominion of any other power.

The American Minister replied that he did not have authority to enter into such an agreement, but Señor Porta claims that the above-mentioned letter was really the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

Dr. Baltasar Brum, President of Uruguay, in a speech last year before the University of Montevideo, while he highly praised the Monroe Doctrine and said that European conquests in America had undoubtedly been impeded by its influence, stated:

It has been said by enemies of the Monroe Doctrine that such an attitude on the part of the United States would hurt the sensitiveness of the attacked country, which would find itself protected without asking for such protection. Aside from the fact that such observation lacks all seriousness, the inconvenience implied would be done away with if all the American countries would formulate a similar declaration, agreeing among themselves to intervene in favor of any of the nations involved, including the United States, in case that, in defense of their rights, they find themselves at war with any foreign power.

In this manner the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed only by the United States, would be transformed into a defensive alliance among all the American countries, founded on a high sentiment of solidarity and with reciprocal obligations and advantages for all.

Roque Saenz Peña, ex-President of the Argentine Republic, in his book "Derecho Público Americano," contends that at the present time the American republics are quite able to take care of themselves, and with this thought in mind asks:

Of what, actual, real, positive significance, therefore, is the Monroe Doctrine to-day?

Simply this: North American influence instead of European influence.

In his article Señor Porta incorporates part of an address made in April, 1914, by John Barrett, ex-Minister of the United States to Colombia, Panama and Argentina, and former Director General of the Pan-American Union, in which Mr. Barrett stated that the time was now at hand when the principle and phrase, "Monroe Doctrine," would be substituted by the principle and phrase, "Pan-American Policy," which would mean a Pan-American policy acceptable to and approved not only by the United States, but by all of the American republics.

In addressing the Mexican Congress on September 1, 1919, President Carranza had the following to say concerning the Monroe Doctrine:

As the question of the acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine has been discussed at the Peace Conference in Paris, the Mexican Government believed it necessary to publicly announce and officially inform in a friendly manner all governments that Mexico has not recognized and

neither will it recognize this doctrine, because without the consent of all the American people it established a criterion and a situation over which they had not been consulted. Therefore, this doctrine attacks the sovereignty and independence of Mexico, and would establish and implant a tutelage over all the American nations.

Señor Porta states that according to his judgment the doctrine, "apart from the dominating desire of the North Americans, is due to Cuba. Because while Cuba remained under Spanish control, the United States had nothing to fear, but if it should fall into the hands of some other strong power, such a colony at the very door of the North Americans would prove to be a perpetual and constant menace for their interests. Therefore it was said that we should respect the present colonies, but would not tolerate any new ones."

Señor Porta concludes his article by suggesting that the United States renounce the Monroe Doctrine and join the League of Nations, as the fundamental principles of the two are not compatible.

THE QUESTION OF SUBMARINE WARFARE

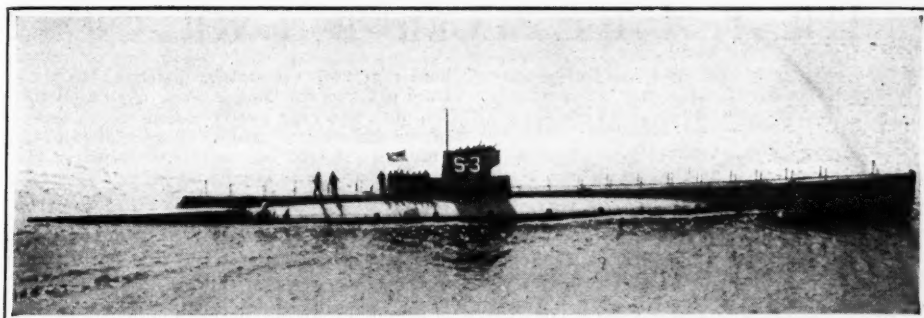
WRITING in the *Illustrated London News*, Mr. Hector C. Bywater recalls the fact that submarine warcraft have been a subject of controversy ever since Robert Fulton demonstrated the practicability of such weapons during the Napoleonic Wars, without, however, persuading either the French or the British Government to adopt them. Thus the arguments adduced at the Arms Conference in Washington for and against the submarine have a familiar sound to students of naval history. He says:

It was in 1804 that Fulton, the American inventor, approached the British Government and sought to elicit their patronage for his *Nautilus* submarine boat, after it had been rejected by Napoleon's Minister of Marine. Pitt was rather enamored of the idea, but eventually deferred to the opinion of stout old St. Vincent, who would have nothing to do with it. He called Pitt a fool for encouraging "that gimcrack, for so he was laying the foundation for doing away with the Navy, on which depended the strength and prestige of Great Britain." Six days before the battle of Trafalgar, Fulton had impressed the Admiralty by blowing to pieces with an underwater charge of powder an old brig which Pitt had placed at his disposal. But the success of

this experiment only confirmed "My Lords" in their determination to suppress an agency which threatened to subvert British naval power. Ninety-four years later Lord Goschen was refusing to spend money on the submarine because it was "the weapon of powers that are comparatively poor and weak"—precisely the same argument advanced, for different reasons, by the Prime Minister of France a few days ago.

The record of the submarine during the late war leaves in doubt its value as a military weapon, notwithstanding the tremendous results it accomplished as an instrument of "frightfulness" in its warfare against merchant vessels; destroying ten million tons of such shipping and taking toll of twenty thousand lives of non-combatants. Much was done to reduce these losses before the close of the war.

In home waters our anti-submarine organization had become so efficient that the prowling U-boat was itself in greater peril than its prospective victims. Out on the high seas it was baffled by the convoy system. Once it had betrayed its presence by firing a torpedo, the intruder was instantly attacked with gunfire, depth-charges, and air bombs; and, even if neither



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AN AMERICAN SUBMARINE OF MODERN TYPE

sunk nor damaged, it was usually kept much too busy to molest the convoy a second time. Happily for us, the armistice intervened before the Germans had completed more than one of the big submersible cruisers which might have rendered the convoy system abortive. Only the *U-139* was commissioned in time to perform any war service; but her exploit in pouring 6-inch shells into a convoy from a distance beyond the range of the escorting ships' guns showed what our losses might have been had a dozen or more of these formidable vessels been at work. There is no doubt that in future wars the large "U" cruiser, possessing a sea endurance of 20,000 miles and a battery of long-range guns, will represent a grave danger to shipping, and one that will be exceptionally difficult to counter.

Apart from the power of traveling under water, the submarine enjoys an advantage over all other types of water-vessels in respect of cruising radius. Thanks to its Diesel engines and the heavy load of oil fuel which can be carried, even the smallest submarine has an extraordinary range of action. German mine-laying boats of the "UC" class, displacing only 417 tons, had a nominal cruising endurance of 8700 miles; and the larger types, such as the *U-117* and *U-142*, could cover a distance of 15,000 to 20,000 miles on one load of fuel. Whether the *personnel* could have stood the physical and mental strain involved by voyages of such duration in vessels not remarkable for comfort or internal roominess is more than doubtful; but it is certain the larger German submarines made war cruises up to 8000 miles. The suggested displacement limit of 500 tons would not, therefore, have relegated the submarine to the category of short-range weapons, for a vessel of even this modest size would probably be good for a continuous cruise of 5000 miles. With increased dimensions, improved living quarters, and enlarged deck space for exercise, the problem of "habitability" will be solved, and the submarine will then obtain the full benefit of its economical engines and generous fuel capacity.

Progress in submarine design during and since the war has presented no startling features. True, dimensions have grown considerably, above-water speed has increased, and the armament has been strengthened; but the resultant gain in offensive power has been more than balanced by concurrent developments in anti-submarine tactics. Perhaps the most notable innovation is the "track-

less" torpedo, which will undoubtedly make submarine attack more dangerous than before. Propelled by electricity instead of compressed air, this weapon rushes through the water without leaving a tell-tale wake of air-bubbles, and those on board the target ship consequently have no warning of its approach.

As to the submarine's record against ships of war, Mr. Bywater says:

The British Navy alone lost five battleships and ten cruisers through submarine attack, to say nothing of scores of smaller craft and auxiliaries. On the other hand, no major unit of the Grand Fleet was torpedoed by an enemy submarine; and, except for one brief period in 1914, when the inadequate defences of Scapa Flow made it expedient for the battle squadrons to seek refuge in Irish waters, hostile submarines failed to impose any handicap on the mobility and general strategic effectiveness of the Grand Fleet.

Mr. Bywater explains why the submarine is of little value for coast defense and why the Germans made little attempt to use it for this purpose. For operating in coastal waters a vessel should be of light draught, so that it may navigate where heavier vessels cannot follow. Of course a vessel that depends for safety upon submersion is, in this respect, in the class of deep-draught ships.

Whatever part the submarine may be destined to play in future warfare on the high seas, it will have few opportunities for effective action in narrower zones. Thanks to war and post-war developments in the science of sound-ranging, hostile submarines in such areas as the North Sea and the Mediterranean would no longer represent a very grave menace. By means of hydrophones laid out in series and linked up with shore stations at suitable points, it is now possible to locate, almost at once, the exact position of any heavy explosion, such as a mine or torpedo, which occurs in any part of the North Sea. This means that if a submarine fired one torpedo and scored a hit, it would immediately betray its precise location to the listeners ashore, who could call up by wireless signal or telephone every patrol vessel, including aircraft, available.

THE TEXTILE SLUMP IN ENGLAND

THE organ of the British Independent Labor Party is the *Socialist Review*, edited by J. Ramsay MacDonald. Having been for some time a quarterly, it resumed its monthly appearance at the beginning of the year.

The January number contains a survey of the present position of the British wool trade, by Wm. Leach, a well-known Bradford manufacturer.

"The textile trade," he writes, "which, about two years ago, had reached the very pinnacle of high profits, high production and high wages, is now in a state of utter collapse." Peace has ruined it. Why? In order to explain Mr. Leach surveys the woolen trade during the war.

"At the outbreak of war the textile captains, who are, like all business men, extremely mercurial, sentimental men, technically ill trained but good at organizing, had a very severe fit of panic, chiefly caused by the extraordinary conduct of the banks." So soon as the banking interests were officially reassured "the panic abated as quickly as it had come." Huge government orders sent up prices and profits. Then came government control.

Textile traders, willing or unwilling, had to accept contracts for the supply of government needs at prices fixed for them by the competent experts appointed by the War Office, who made all the calculations upon which the prices were based. Their work saved the taxpayer scores of millions of pounds. But the trade never loved them, as can readily be imagined, and the universal trade rejoicings when control was ultimately abandoned and a thoroughly efficient machine was scrapped were not surprising. The wool newspapers and trade journals engaged in a disgraceful conspiracy to show that control meant red tape, delay and inefficiency, but knew better. It was profit that was being nipped, and the unforgivable offense, never, of course, mentioned, lay solely in that.

Control, though limited, was highly efficient. But it starved the civilian consumer. He had to pay enormously.

At the time of the armistice, when control was finally removed, the trade set itself to make hay whilst the sun shone. The removal of control and the abolition of rationing marked a further big rise of prices, until about March-May, 1920, the pinnacle was reached. Whilst the index cost of living figures was showing 160 and 170 points above 1914, textile products were being marketed at 600 and 700 points above pre-war rates. Cloths which could be bought at 3s. per yard in 1914 were now finding ready

buyers at 24s. Moreover, merchants had long since got into the habit of ordering for delivery six, nine, and even twelve months ahead because of the difficulty of getting delivery at all. The ordinary rules of commerce had therefore gone by the board. . . . Stuff sold itself, as the trade put it, and the difficulty was entirely one of keeping one's orders within practical bounds.

The change came suddenly. "In March, 1920, things were at the top. In June everybody had stopped buying and prices had begun to tumble." For twelve months the fall went on, until "tops" from Australian wool forced up to 14s. 6d. in 1920 had dropped to 2s. 9d. During this period manufacturers were forcing on the merchants the goods bought during the boom.

The ordinary citizen has suffered in two ways. First through high prices. "The other injury, which he has not yet realized, but undoubtedly will when the next budget arrives, is the new taxation he will have to pay to make up for the deficiency caused to the Exchequer through Excess Profits Duty repayments."

In a word, E. P. D. [Excess Profits Duty] is saving the textile trade at the expense of the consumer. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of textile firms have this year drawn back every penny of E. P. D. they have ever paid, not to speak of income-tax repayments. The woolen merchants of the big distributive centers, London, Glasgow, Huddersfield and other places have been secretly meeting their creditors in droves, and either fixing lengthy moratorium schemes or getting agreement to compositions. At present it is commonly said in the trade that only those are solvent whose creditors have accepted a dividend and put them on their feet again. Whilst this is probably an exaggeration, it is certain that never has the cloth trade been in so shaky a condition. The productive side has stood the storm rather better, solely because it had no stocks and all its commitments were sold in advance. Cancells and bad debts have hit it hard, but the taxpayer has undoubtedly rescued it from a worse fate by arranging for a huge remission of taxes already paid or owing.

The future is still black. "We clothe and always have clothed two foreigners to one Britisher. The foreign markets are ruined at present, and readers of this journal do not need to be told how that has come about. The home market is moribund through unemployment and sinking wages. The textile 48-hour week, achieved during the war with a great flourish of trumpets by voluntary agreement and heralded as an important step in the forward march of humanity, is already threatened."

TALKING TO A NATION

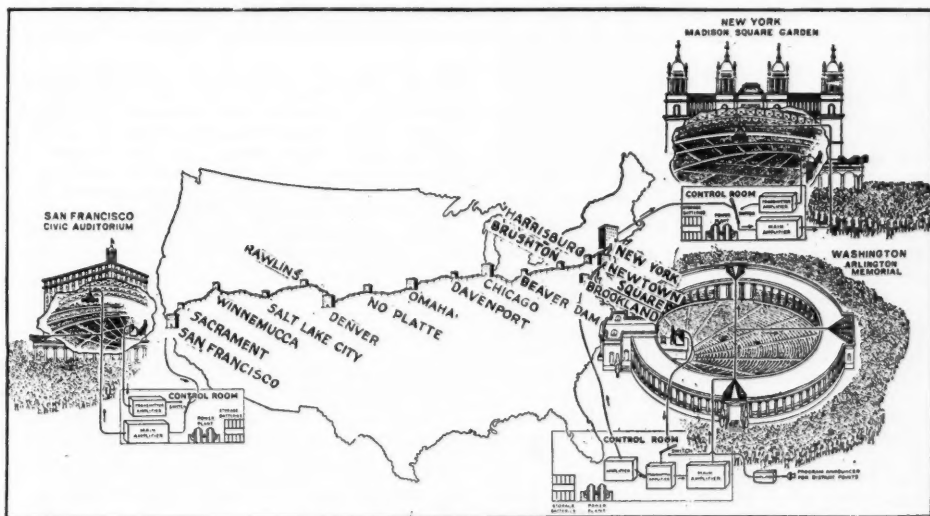
ALTHOUGH the people of the twentieth century live in a continuous fairy tale of scientific achievements, there are degrees of miraculousness, so to speak, in these feats of latter-day magic. Few of them have been more sensational than the use of "loud-speakers" combined with the long-distance telephone in connection with the Armistice Day ceremonies at Arlington. President Harding's address and the prayers and songs were made clearly audible not only to more than 100,000 people scattered over the hill-sides of the national cemetery, outside the amphitheater, but also to an audience of 30,000 people in New York City and one of 20,000 in San Francisco. As Mr. Robert W. King points out in the *Scientific American* (New York):

The success of the equipment used on Armistice Day means, for example, that the President of the United States, if he so desires, without leaving his seat of government, may talk to audiences assembled in every State in the Union, or that the head of an industrial corporation from his office will be able to address, simultaneously, his workers gathered in plants all over the country; likewise college commencement exercises, political speeches, lectures, musical festivals—in fact, all forms of entertainment—can now be transmitted to any number of audiences of almost any size at one and the same time. The influence which this latest triumph of science will exert upon political and industrial activities will certainly be for the

better, as it will do much to restore the personal element which ever-increasing numbers and distances have gradually eliminated.

In explaining to the layman the apparatus used in this achievement, perhaps the first point that should be made clear is that the transmission of any telephone message over a long circuit, such as the transcontinental line, involves the use of "amplifiers" at regular intervals along the line. Without these, the original current would become too weak to operate a receiver long before it reached its ultimate destination. The amplifiers or "repeaters" bring into play currents from batteries at the various repeater stations. Each current controls the next one, and thus passes on the message.

The purpose of the loud-speaker is to magnify speech sounds and project them into the air so that they will reach very large audiences. In connection with the loud-speaker we employ amplifiers, not to restore an attenuated telephone current as it traverses a long circuit, but to magnify the original current as it comes from the transmitter to the order of thousands or even millions of times, and then to reconvert it into very intense sound waves by means of large and powerful receivers. The amplifier of the loud-speaker may receive the small telephone current which it is to magnify directly from a transmitter, as was the case at Arlington, or from a telephone line, as in New York and San Francisco. Through the agency of its amplifier and



PLAN OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRANSMITTING PRESIDENT HARDING'S VOICE FROM ARLINGTON TO NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO ON ARMISTICE DAY

(This diagram shows the installation for catching the voice waves, the amplifying and repeating units, the circuit, and the connections at New York and San Francisco)

powerful telephone receivers, the loud-speaker at Arlington gave to the words of President Harding and the other speakers some twenty thousand times as great a volume as that with which the speakers themselves uttered them. The intense sounds generated by the receivers were directed to each audience by clusters of large wooden horns or "projectors" shaped very much like megaphones.

The transmitter of the loud-speaker stands three or four feet in front of and below the person addressing the audience, and consequently receives but a very small fraction of the sound coming from his mouth. Because of this fact and certain others, the electrical amplification involved in the loud-speaker must be truly enormous, requiring such numbers to express it as those with which astronomers delight to startle the imagination. Calculations show that the loud-speaker at Arlington was capable of stepping up the energy of the telephone current coming from its transmitter considerably over one billion-fold. The extreme case of amplification, however, was that involved in reproducing the Arlington ceremony at San Francisco. This involved boosting the energy at fifteen repeater stations across the continent as well as initially at Arlington and finally in the loud-speaker at San Francisco. The total amplification within the transcontinental line was over one hundred million million-fold. Combining this amplification of the line with that imparted to the telephone current before reaching the line in Arlington and after leaving it at San Francisco gives the total amplification as about ten trillion trillion-fold, or 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000, if one prefers to see it written thus. And it should be borne in mind that this trillion

trillion-fold amplification was so accurately controlled and applied that the audience at San Francisco heard the speeches and songs as realistically as though they were standing but a few feet from the speaker's stand at Arlington.

The time required for the transmission of the sounds from Arlington to San Francisco was less than one-fiftieth of a second.

Loud-speaking equipment, to be suitable for important public gatherings, must reproduce speech which is natural and lifelike in all respects. By far the most difficult problems which had to be solved in developing the present loud-speaker equipment were those involving the transmission and reproduction of speech with perfect fidelity, so that all the characteristic inflections and modulations of a speaker's voice, slight though these might be, would be accurately preserved. These problems proved much more difficult to solve than that simply of producing large amplification of the voice. They have, however, been met successfully and the present loud-speaker system is eminently satisfactory both as regards volume and articulation, and so marks a distinct advance in the art of speech transmission. So natural are the sounds of the voice as they come from the loud-speaker, and so very slight is the transition from within earshot of the speaker to the region where only the projectors are heard, that if a person who is standing beside the speaker should walk away, keeping his back turned toward the latter, he could go off 200 feet, or even more, and still have a very distinct impression that the speaker was just behind him.

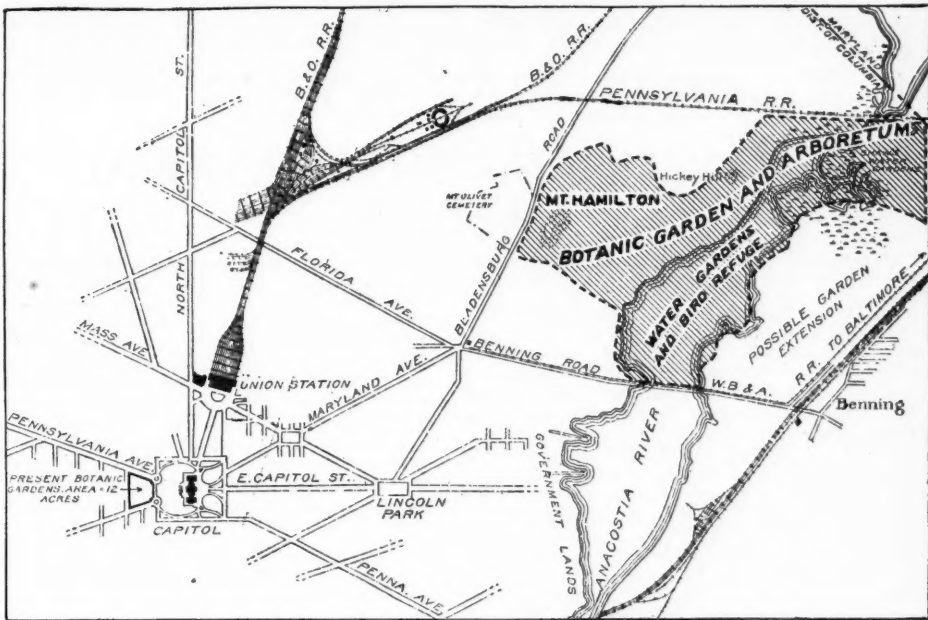
A BOTANICAL GARDEN FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

OLD Washingtonians may demur at the statement made by Mr. W. R. Mattoon in *American Forestry* (Washington) that the United States Government has no real botanic garden. What has long passed for such lies adjacent to the Capitol grounds and is by no means the least charming of Washington's breathing-spaces. Behind its iron fence-rails strenuous lawmakers and lobbyists, alike, seek and find repose. We are told, however, that this twelve-acre plot, however well it may have performed its nominal function in the past, is now

used chiefly to produce cut flowers and decorative plants for official use, and attracts little public attention. There is a demand for a real botanic garden where the public may examine living species of the great variety of trees, shrubs, vines and herbaceous plants native to the District of Columbia or capable of growing there. The plants should be classified and the public given free access to the grounds for recreation and study. The climate of the District makes possible

the growing of a very large number of plant species of the temperate zone. The Forest Service has for several years been interested in securing a location for establishing an exhibit of the trees of this and other countries. The Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture needs some means of retaining and growing thousands of plants brought here through the efforts of its agricultural explorers. The Biological Survey of the same Department is interested in a bird refuge.

Bills now before Congress would provide the national capital with a new botanic garden and arboretum comparable in importance with the Arnold Arboretum, near Boston, the New York Botanical Garden, and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, at St. Louis. The site in view is a large tract of now undeveloped land adjacent to the Anacostia River. Instead of carrying out the costly reclamation and filling of tidal river flats to convert this region into a park, as has heretofore been intended, it is proposed to retain



THE PROPOSED NATIONAL ARBORETUM AND BOTANIC GARDENS

(This map shows the location, including Mount Hamilton and Hickey Hill and lands adjacent to Anacostia River, in the Northeast Section of the District of Columbia)

the wild rice lands, partly as a bird refuge and partly for laying out water gardens. The saving thus effected will suffice to cover the purchase of an adjoining tract of upland, known as Mount Hamilton, so that the whole garden will have an area of about 800 acres. Moreover, adjacent Government lands along the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers will form, with the botanical garden, a continuous open tract of some 1200 acres.

The site lies in the northeast section and just within the boundary of the District of Columbia, two and one-quarter miles from the Capitol building. From the latter it may now be reached directly over Maryland avenue. The lands, as shown on the accompanying map, including Hickey Hill and the intervening section, occupy the central area between Benning and Bladensburg Roads on the south and west, and the Pennsylvania railroad tracks and Anacostia River on the north and east sides, respectively. The tract lies, it may be added, on the main highway line between Baltimore and Washington. The Lincoln Highway could with little difficulty be brought along the shores of the proposed Anacostia water gardens and thence by way of Maryland avenue to the Capitol building, affording an entrance to Washington of unequalled beauty.

Altogether about 210 acres of the tract are

forested. Thirty-six native species of forest trees have been identified by Dr. Ivan Tidestrom, the botanist. Mixed oaks, with white oak predominating, hickory, black walnut, yellow poplar, black gum, and a few other species compose the slope type, giving away gradually with increasing elevation to chestnut oak, which occurs over the summit in almost pure stand. A soil survey made by the Bureau of Soils shows approximately twenty-seven different soil types on the tract proposed for purchase. In this connection one of the Government experts has stated that, with the possible exception of Rio de Janeiro, such a diversity of natural soil and topographic conditions favorable to establishing an extensive botanic garden close to a national capital probably exists nowhere else.

Comparing the United States with other countries in respect to the number of botanic gardens, it is found that Great Britain and its colonies have sixty-five, Germany thirty-five, France and its colonies twenty-five, Italy twenty-three, Russia and Serbia seventeen, Austria thirteen and the United States twelve, with all other countries falling below. The first botanic garden was established at Padua, Italy, in 1533, and the second at Pisa in 1544. In France the oldest garden was started at Paris in 1597, and the Oxford garden in England was begun in 1621 with an initial area of five acres. The famous Kew Gardens in London have been in process of development since 1760. Largest in the world are the Rio de Janeiro gardens, with an area of some 2000 acres.

THE NEW BOOKS

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Washington and the Riddle of Peace. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company. 312 pp.

Mr. H. G. Wells arrived in Washington five days before the Conference on Limitation of Armaments opened, and early in January he sailed away to sojourn for a time in Spain—not as a vacationist or pleasure-seeker, but as one seeking a quiet place for the performance of a literary task. Everything that Mr. Wells writes has amazing readability. Furthermore, instead of working out his vein, Mr. Wells shows in each new book the added power that results from his increasing aggregate of observation, experience, and thought. This new volume is made up of the letters he wrote for American newspapers during the six weeks that he spent in the United States. They were brilliant pieces of writing, and were widely discussed as they were syndicated across the country from the offices of the *New York World* and the *Chicago Tribune*. But Mr. Wells was not reporting the Conference: he was writing a book. And a book does not appear at its best when its chapters are run in the daily press side by side with news reports. Mr. Wells was writing a powerful appeal for world organization; and the Washington Conference merely gave him a timely opportunity to elaborate his thesis. There is of course a great deal in this book about the Washington Conference, but this is only by way of allusion. We have here in twenty-nine chapters an expression of Mr. Wells' intense belief in the necessity of bringing the world together in close association, in order to rescue our modern civilization from impending ruin.

China Awakened. By M. T. Z. Tyau. The Macmillan Company. 475 pp.

Dr. Tyau is a prominent member of that group of distinguished young Chinamen who have attracted so much favorable attention at Washington during the present Conference on the Pacific and the Far East. He was educated in England, but has been connected with an American college in China, and, like Ambassadors Alfred Sze and Wellington Koo, he understands British and American institutions, and uses the English language with fluency and precision. The present volume is exactly what its title suggests. It does not deal primarily with governmental, military, or international problems. It tells rather of educational and social progress, and in a series of chapters gives us a very good idea of the extent to which the four hundred million people of China are beginning to be affected by the leaven of Western ideas. We are made to feel that under the leadership of such men as the author of this volume the people of China will steadily grow in national consciousness, until China is

able to maintain a responsible government and take her proper place in the world. The attempt to provide the Chinese with an alphabet and a phonetic method of writing and printing, in place of the exceedingly difficult and elaborate ideograph system, is elucidated in Dr. Tyau's pages, as are many other movements that indicate the awakening of the Chinese. In several concluding chapters, Dr. Tyau reverts to China's recent international status and deals with the recent war period and the issues that arose at the Paris Peace Conference. Although, as we have said, the book is not mainly devoted to domestic or foreign politics, it does not avoid those subjects in so far as they seem to the author to be related to movements that promise to open a new period of history for the foremost of Asiatic peoples.

China's Place in the Sun. By Stanley High. Macmillan. 212 pp.

This book about modern China is well calculated to dissipate certain illusions concerning the land and the people, especially the notion of Chinese isolation. Many American readers will be astonished at the modernity of commercial, industrial, educational and religious conditions in the great Republic of the Far East. There are illuminating chapters on America's commercial stake in China, China's industrial renaissance and the achievements of China's civilization. The former American Minister to China, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, contributes an introduction to the volume.

Russia in the Far East. By Leo Pasvolvsky. Macmillan. 181 pp.

Quite irrespective of the decisions of the Washington Conference, this book about Russia's Far Eastern policy has a permanent value. The author sketches the history of Russian expansion in Asia, dwelling on Russia's relations with China and Japan, and the treaty arrangements that followed the Russo-Japanese War, and then outlines the policy of Soviet Russia in the Far East, and describes the Communist activities in that part of the world.

Europe — Whither Bound? By Stephen Graham. D. Appleton & Company. 224 pp.

Last year Stephen Graham, a well-known traveler and observer, made an unusual tour of European capitals. Starting at Athens, he journeyed to Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Munich, Berlin, and Rome, and after a side excursion to Monte Carlo ended his travels with trips to London and Paris. This was his original method of obtaining "an idea of Europe as a whole." At any rate, it served to put him in touch with the realities of European life since the armistice, to

show him how conditions have changed, and to suggest what is needed for the rebuilding of European civilization. For a British writer, the point of view of Continental European unity is a novel one.

The Struggle for Power in Europe: 1917-1921. By Dr. L. Haden Guest. George H. Doran Company. 318 pp. With maps.

This volume gives a fairly detailed account of economic and political conditions in Russia and Central Europe. The author finds, as a result of his studies, that in Europe generally Bolshevism is strong in the backward and ill-educated countries like Ruthenia, Bessarabia, parts of Slovakia and parts of Poland, while constructive Socialism is strong in the advanced and well-educated centers of Great Britain, France, Germany and Western Europe in general. The author has great confidence in the leadership represented by President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. Europe is looked upon as a battlefield cleared for the purpose of building up a federation of democracies to use the power of the sciences as created instruments of civilization.

Greater Rumania. By Charles Upson Clark. Dodd, Mead & Company. 477 pp. Ill.

This book accomplishes two distinct purposes. It sets forth clearly Rumania's position and vicissitudes in the war, and it serves as an excellent handbook of Rumanian resources—the first authoritative reference book on this subject in the English language. It has special chapters on Rumanian petroleum and agriculture, and gives a vivid account of Rumanian peasant life. One chapter is devoted to the work of the American Red Cross in Rumania. There are many illustrations and maps.

Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions. By the Honorable Stephen Panaretoff. Macmillan. 216 pp.

This volume is one of the first publications making available to the general reading public the lectures delivered last summer before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass. The author has been for many years Bulgarian Minister to the United States. He is well equipped by knowledge and training to describe for American readers the present situation in the Balkan States. He makes in this volume a strong plea for a Balkan Confederation, and shows clearly what are the conditions that have thus far operated to prevent such a form of co-operation.

Secret Diplomacy: How Far Can It Be Eliminated? By Paul S. Reinsch. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 231 pp.

When Dr. Reinsch attacks the system of secret diplomacy the reader may be assured that the attack is not made without full knowledge, on the author's part, of just what it is that he is fighting. Dr. Reinsch was our Minister to China for six years, and diplomatic errands have taken him to many of the capitals of Europe and of South America. He is well acquainted with the usual methods of foreign offices and of diplomats, and the idea that secrecy is necessary and inevitable in diplomacy seems never to have found lodgment in his brain. On the contrary, his study of the practice and results of secret diplomacy from the eighteenth century down to the Great War and the period since the armistice has convinced him that the traditional system is an unholy survival from the days of absolutism. He believes that it has no place in the conduct of relations among modern democratic states. His book is an outspoken plea for its elimination.

BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

The House of Commons and Monarchy. By Hilaire Belloc. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 188 pp.

The British Government, in some aspects, is a simple affair and easy to understand. Nevertheless, it is always under discussion, and sometimes it changes most when it seems not to change at all. Mr. Hilaire Belloc is better known as a writer on other themes; but, when he turns to political topics, he is sure to claim attention by reason of his strong opinions, lucid style, and habitually drastic tone. He has just now written a small book entitled, "The House of Commons and Monarchy." It is Mr. Belloc's thesis in this book that England has for 250 years been governed by an Oligarchy; and that this oligarchy has been representative of an Aristocracy, which in turn has been supported by the love, admiration, and respect of the whole British people for the Aristocratic Order. But Mr. Belloc proceeds to show that aristocracy in England is broken and collapsed. The House of Commons, in consequence of the hopeless decline of the aristocratic order, has wholly changed its character and is no longer capable of governing England and the British Empire. Having proved to his own

satisfaction that aristocracy and oligarchy have already virtually passed away, Mr. Belloc seems not to have discovered the rising tide of democracy; and he falls back upon the notion that the institution of monarchy, somewhat as it existed previous to Cromwell's time, must be reestablished as the focus of governmental authority. Mr. Belloc is always readable, and this particular essay of his chances to be highly unconvincing.

Whitehall. By C. Delisle Burns. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (London). 78 pp.

As a companion piece for Mr. Belloc's slender volume, it might be worth while to read a still smaller book that is not devoted to a thesis but rather to a convenient setting forth of facts. The title is simply the one word, "Whitehall." This word in England means a group of administrative departments with their great organizations of permanent civil service. Whitehall is the name of a short street very near the Houses of Parliament, and in that street are the buildings which shelter such departments as the Treasury,

the Home, Colonial and India offices, the War Department, and that of Foreign Affairs, the so-called economic departments, the ministries of Health and Education, and so on. Mr. Delisle Burns' little volume gives a clear picture of the permanent machinery of the central government in England, while that of Mr. Belloc deals with the political power that guides and controls the governing machine, and that makes laws which affect its functioning.

The Soul and Body of an Army. By General Sir Ian Hamilton, G. C. B. George H. Doran Company. 303 pp.

A much more extensive book in the field of British institutions is the new volume by General Sir Ian Hamilton, entitled, "The Soul and Body of an Army." General Sir Ian Hamilton has retired from the British Army after having served in it for almost fifty years. He was in the Afghan War, the Boer War, was with Kitchener on the Nile Expedition, served in expeditions and campaigns in India; was distinguished in the South African War, serving as Chief of Staff to Kitchener; was with the Japanese Army in

the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria; and in the recent war, among other services, he commanded the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force in 1915. He has always enjoyed the exercise of an independent mentality, a gift for trenchant expression, and the full courage of his opinions. This book about the British Army is a very valuable discussion of the nature, spirit, training, discipline, and national character of a country's military structure. In the larger sense of the word, it is a contribution to the politics of Great Britain rather than a military book. It is strong for the army as an expression of that political order of things that Mr. Belloc finds to be in such a sad state of decline. General Hamilton and Mr. Belloc are alike in hating the present British Ministry. Mr. Belloc thinks it tells lies, and General Hamilton thinks it tries to muzzle the free discussion of army affairs by officers, in order to protect the civilian War Office from just criticism for its incompetence. The book is a very racy and readable affair, and it illustrates exceedingly well the tendency of British writers on governmental themes to deal rather unsparingly in analysis and criticism of their own public authorities.

BIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS

Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By Oscar Douglas Skelton. The Century Company. Vol. I. 485 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 576 pp. Ill.

The death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, three years ago, ended the career of a statesman whose life for more than half a century had been coincident with the welding of a group of Canadian provinces into a nation. He had been identified with the growth of his country since confederation was achieved, shortly after the close of our own Civil War. Other outstanding Canadian statesmen of that period had been of British blood, but Laurier represented the old French stock which had colonized Quebec in the seventeenth century. This excellent biography, besides picturing for us a most attractive personality, sketches the political history of Canada for the past fifty years, with special relation to the fortunes of the Liberal party. Laurier, who became the great Liberal leader, and held the premiership for fifteen years, lived to see Canada freed from the shackles of provincialism to take her place in the sisterhood of nations. He survived the World War, living in retirement, and died in February, 1919, at the age of seventy-seven.

A Life of George Westinghouse. By Henry G. Prout. Charles Scribner's Sons. 375 pp. Ill.

This volume might be termed an engineers' biography of a great leader in that profession. It was prepared by engineers, and its subject-matter is inevitably of special interest to them. In the preparation of the volume Mr. Prout had the coöperation of a committee of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. In dealing with the varied activities of Mr. Westinghouse, the method pursued was to treat each field by itself, rather than to attempt a strictly chronological narrative. Thus one chapter is devoted to the air-brake, another to electric traction,

another to natural gas, and so on through the category of inventions and enterprises to which Mr. Westinghouse devoted his life. The first chapter of the book and the last two relate more particularly to Mr. Westinghouse's personality and human relationships.

Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson: 1846-1906. Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 358 pp.

Colonel Higginson was a well-known figure in American literary life during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He won his military title in the Civil War, but he began as a Unitarian clergyman and as long as he lived was identified with the group of New England writers whose leadership in American literature was then unchallenged. Perhaps the most interesting passages of Colonel Higginson's letters and journals (edited by his widow) are those having to do with the anti-slavery movement and army life in the Civil War.

The Whistler Journal. By E. R. & J. Pennell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 339 pp. Ill.

Mr. and Mrs. Pennell are the authors of the authorized Whistler biography, and have also presented to the Library of Congress at Washington a remarkable collection of Whistleriana. The present volume is described in the preface as "the story of the life Whistler lived with us during the three years after he asked us to write it, and the story he told us of the sixty-six previous years of his troubled, triumphant career—the foundation upon which the biography was built up." The journal, it need hardly be said, has an intimate tone that would hardly have been appropriate in a biography.